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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

ASSEMBLED IN

WASHINGTON, D.C., FEBRUARY 22 TO 25, 1891.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

EDITED BY

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY.

1891.

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For sale by

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,

Corresponding Secretary of N. C. W., 748 North Nineteenth Street,

Philadelphia, Pa.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FEBRUARY 22 TO 25, 1891.

DURING the preparations of 1887–1888 for the meeting of the International Council of Women, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, an active member of the Committee of Arrangements, conceived the idea of crystallizing the results of that grand gathering of notable women into permanent organizations upon the broadest possible basis of work for the uplifting of humanity. From her thought, carefully elaborated, arose the permanent International Council of Women and the National Council of Women of the United States, both organized, and their central boards of officers elected, March 31, 1888.*

The Constitution of the National Council of Women

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* For particulars of the organization of these two bodies, see the Report of the International Council of Women, 1888, pp. 448–453.

calls for triennial meetings of this organization to be held at Washington, D.C. At the close of the various business meetings of 1888 connected with the International Council of Women, it was fully understood that 1891 should see, at the national capital, the first assembling of a National Council of Women of the United States. In the hands of its central board of officers was left the responsibility of arranging this meeting. The following persons composed this board: FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President;* SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *Vice-President;* MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Corresponding Secretary;* MARY F. EASTMAN, *Recording Secretary;* M. LOUISE THOMAS, *Treasurer.*

On the 6th of October, 1890, the following preliminary call was issued:

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, October 6, 1890.

The National Council of Women of the United States, organized in the spring of 1888, will hold the first of the triennial meetings, provided for by its Constitution, the last of February, 1891. The meetings will be held in Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, D.C. They will open with a religious meeting on Sunday, and continue through the three following days,—in all, seven public sessions.

Eleven of the most important National organizations of women in the country have, since its organization, entered the Council, and it is hoped that many more will do so before the meeting of the Council.

So soon as any organization enters the Council its president becomes an acting Vice-President in the Council, and it has also the right to appoint one person to represent it on the Executive Board of the Council. This Board includes the general officers of the Council, together with the presidents of all organizations belonging to it, and one delegate besides its president from every organization. This Board constitutes also a committee of arrangements for the first triennial meeting of the Council.

All National organizations of women, interested in the advancement of women's work in education, philanthropy, reform, and social culture, which have not yet entered the Council, are still earnestly solicited to send fraternal delegates to the February meeting.

To the end that no organization meeting the requirements specified in the Constitution of the National Council shall fail to receive invitations

to send such fraternal delegates, correspondence with such bodies is solicited by the officers of the National Council.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Council, whose address is given below, will gladly answer all inquiries addressed to her, and will see that every provision is made for the appropriate representation on the programme of the Council of all departments of work in whose prosecution the women of the country have effected national organizations,—that is, to quote from the Constitution of the Council, "organizations national either in character or in value."

It is hoped that women interested in women's work will respond to this call, and give the aid necessary to render its first triennial meeting worthy of the objects in whose behalf the National Council was formed.

A specific call indicating exact dates and hours of the public and executive sessions, together with an outline of the programme, will soon appear.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President*, Evanston, Illinois.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *Vice-President*, Rochester, N.Y.

MARY F. EASTMAN, *Recording Secretary*, Tewksbury, Mass.

M. LOUISE THOMAS, *Treasurer*, New York City, N.Y.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Corresponding Secretary*, 343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

THE "specific call" promised in this preliminary document was practically the programme of the Council, prepared after a voluminous correspondence.

Sunday, February 22.

8 P.M.

Hymn—REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER.
Invocation—REV. CAROLINE J. BARTLETT.
Scripture Reading—REV. OLYMPIA BROWN.
Solo—M. ELIZABETH JOHNSON.
Sermon—REV. IDA C. HULTIN.
The National Hymn—"My Country, 'tis of Thee."
Offertory.
Exhortation—MRS. MARGARET BOTTOME, President of "The King's Daughters."
The Doxology.
Benediction—REV. ANNA H. SHAW,

Monday, February 23.

10.30 A.M.

Music.

Prayer—MARY H. B. HITT.

Introduction of Delegates, } FRANCES E. WILLARD.
President's Address, }

General Subject:—CHARITIES AND PHILANTHROPIES.

State Control and Social Care of Dependent Classes: Woman's Share in the Work—
ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

The Care of Dependent Children—FANNY B. AMES.

The Need of Women in Public Institutions—DR. ROSE WRIGHT BRYAN.

Our Duty to Dependent Races—ALICE C. FLETCHER, F. E. W. HARPER.

Women as Police Matrons—LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.

Address—KATE B. SHERWOOD.

Open Discussion.

Monday, February 23.

7.45 P.M.

Music.

Prayer—SUSAN H. BARNEY.

General Subject:—WOMEN IN THE CHURCHES.

Woman's Status in the Church To-Day—REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER.

Women in the Methodist Church—JANE M. BANCROFT, FRANC ELLIOTT.

Modern Charities and Church Work—EMILY S. SHERWOOD.

The Christian League—E. B. GRANNIS, Editor of the Church Union.

The Brahmo Somaj, and What it is Doing for Women—
GEORGIA H. COOK (MRS. JOSEPH COOK).

Discussion—MRS. J. B. CROUSE, MISS MARY BURDETTE, MRS. C. R. BLACKALL,
Baptist Home Mission Society.

MRS. M. E. WHITMORE,
Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Church.

MRS. HANNAH J. BAILEY,
The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.

MRS. H. J. JOHNSON, *The Union Woman's Missionary Society.*

MARY A. DAVIS, MRS. E. S. BURLINGAME,
The National Free-Will Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

MRS. E. V. ROBBINS, *The Occidental Board of Foreign Missions.*

MRS. T. NICKERSON,
The Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society.

MRS. GRACEY,
The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.

Tuesday, February 24.

10.30 A.M.

Music.

Prayer—SARAH D. LA FETRA.

General Subject:—TEMPERANCE.

The Non-Partisan National W. C. T. U.—J. ELLEN FOSTER.

The Temperance Temple—MATILDA B. CARSE.

The Woman's Temperance Lecture Bureau—ANNA A. GORDON.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association—
MARY ALLEN WEST, Editor of the Union Signal.

The Woman's National Temperance Hospital—JOSEPHINE R. NICHOLS.

Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools and Colleges—MARY H. HUNT.

Address—MARY T. LATHRAP.

Discussion—SALLIE F. CHAPIN, ZERELDA G. WALLACE.

Tuesday, February 24.

7.45 P.M.

Solo—DAISY MOORE.

Prayer—SUSAN S. FESSENDEN.

General Subject:—EDUCATION.

A Demand for Women in the Faculties of Co-Educational Colleges and Universities—
LUCINDA H. STONE.

A New Phase of the Higher Education of Women in America; Barnard College—
ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

A Woman's College in Spain—ALICE GORDON GULICK.

Woman's Progress in Higher Education—HELEN L. WEBSTER.

Women in the Medical College of Johns Hopkins University—ELIZABETH T. KING.

Married Women in the Public Schools—MARY A. RIPLEY.

School Savings Banks—S. L. OBERHOLTZER.

Discussion—CHRISTINE LADD FRANKLIN, MARY F. EASTMAN.

Wednesday, February 25.

10.30 A.M.

Music.

Prayer—MRS. A. C. THORPE.

General Subject:—THE POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

The Matriarchate—ELIZABETH CADY STANTON. Read by SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Gains of the Last Three Years—MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL.

The Relation of the Woman Suffrage Movement to Other Modern Reforms—
JULIA WARD HOWE.

Women in the Farmers' Alliance—MARY E. LEASE.

"God's Women"—REV. ANNA H. SHAW.

Discussion.

Wednesday, February 25.

8 P.M.

Extra Session—MISCELLANEOUS.

Music.

Prayer—FRANCES J. BARNES.

Occupations of Women to Date—
MARY F. SEYMOUR, Editor of the Business Woman's Journal.

The Legal Disabilities of Women—DR. ALICE B. STOCKHAM.

Improved Dress—FRANCES E. RUSSELL.

The Journalistic Outlook—LILLIAN WHITING, Editor of the Boston Budget.

The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union—
ELLEN B. DIETRICK, HARRIET A. TOWNSHEND.

The National Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association—CAROLINE S. THOMAS.

The National Woman's Relief Society—MRS. KIMBALL, EMMELINE B. WELLS.

The National Protective Agency for Women and Children—CAROLINE M. BROWN.

What Do the Signs of the Times Signify?—
ANTOINETTE VAN HOUSEN WAKEMAN, of the Chicago Post.

The Literature of Moral Loveliness—KATHERINE E. CONWAY, of the Boston Pilot.

Voluntary Motherhood—HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH.

Discussion—FRANCES FISHER WOOD, KATE TANNATT WOODS.

Wednesday, February 25.

7.45 P.M.

Music—Philharmonic Quartette. MISSES MEADS, LAW, SHEPHERD, STIDHAM.

Prayer—L. M. N. STEVENS.

General Subject:—THE ORGANIZED WORK AND LIFE OF WOMEN.

Women's Clubs, Sorosis—ELLA DIETZ CLYMER, HESTER M. POOLE.

The Moral Influence of Women's Associations—CHARLOTTE EMERSON BROWN.

What Organizatic· has done for English Women—FLORENCE BALGARNIE.

The Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition—
BERTHA HONORE PALMER, MRS. CHARLES M. HENROTIN, VIRGINIA C. MEREDITH.

The Queen Isabella Association—ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, DR. LUCY E. WAITE.

The Ramabai Association—JUDITH W. ANDREWS.

The King's Daughters—MARY LOWE DICKINSON, ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS.

The National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty—
MRS. I. C. MANCHESTER, MRS. F. H. EAVES, MRS. H. R. BISHOP.

The Illinois Woman's Alliance—CORINNE S. BROWN.

The National Woman's Press Association—M. D. LINCOLN, MARY S. LOCKWOOD.

Wimodaughsis—MARY DESHA.

The Rhode Island Woman's Council—E. S. BURLINGAME.

The Moral Educational Association of Boston—MRS. WALLING.

The Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston—DR. HELEN B. O'LEARY.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity—
E. B. GRANNIS, M. LOUISE THOMAS.

Woman's Health Protectiye Association of New York—MARGARET RAVENHILL.

Discussion.

The Introduction of the New Board of Officers, and Closing of the First Triennial Meeting—FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Benediction—REV. IDA C. HULTIN.

On Saturday evening, February 21, Mrs. Jane H. Spofford, an officer of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, gave a reception at the Riggs House, the Council head-quarters, to the officers of the National Council of Women. On this occasion, though the great dining-room of the Riggs House was early filled, the arrangements were so well planned that all the guests enjoyed the pleasure of a presentation by Mrs. Spofford to the officers and delegates of the Council, who received with her.

thought this afternoon that after the sermon I would give you some points; of course I supposed that I would have to be very, very short, so if you will announce when the preacher arrives I will stop.

I mean to exhort myself on some lines, and so I am in the habit of telling myself that it is not so much the work I do as the spirit in which I aim to do it,—that spirit is always first. Spirituality must always be at the front, and it is not so much the work as the spirit in which it is done.

Last summer, in Paris, in the Spanish Gallery in the Louvre, I stood before a picture that I had often heard about, and long and thoughtfully did I gaze upon it. Many of you will remember it, the picture of "The Convent Kitchen." All in the kitchen are angels. One tall angel was putting the dishes upon the dresser, another angel was preparing the fowls for dinner, and around on the floor sat little angels,—some of them were shelling peas and others preparing other vegetables. They were all angels in the kitchen; and as I stood and thought of the order I represent, and the letters on my silver cross, "I. H. N.,"—"In his name,"—I said, "Yes, it is all there. It is to do the work that He gives us to do, with the angel aim, with the angel spirit, and that is, 'Thy will be done.' It is the work thou hast given me to do, and I will do it as well as I can." The spirit with which we do the work! Oh, friends, neither you nor I can afford to miss the wings. We may be in the kitchen, we may be on the platform, we may be, and should be, wherever God puts us, but there the one thing necessary is to do what we do *in His name*, for the love of Christ. I exhort myself on this line. "Whatever you miss," I say to myself, "you must not miss His spirit,—His spirit of love—His spirit of patience—His spirit of perfect submission—His spirit of loving joy to do anything that the Father gave him to do." On that line I exhort myself.

Then there is another line on which I need to exhort myself. A very simple illustration will give you the idea. One of the most beautiful cathedrals that I saw this past summer was that at Cologne. Oh, how it fascinated me! and I thought of our women's work as I stood and looked at the outside of the beautiful cathedral. I thought of the laboring man that was present at the service when the cathedral was opened for the first time. He seemed to be carried away with the beauty of the cathedral, and, forgetting that the service was going on, he exclaimed, "Did we ever think we would do such a beautiful thing as this!" Of course they silenced him in a moment, and afterwards they said to him, "What did you mean by saying 'Did *we* ever think that *we* should ever do such a beautiful thing?'" Said he, "I mixed mortar for years across the street. Had the mortar nothing to do with the cathedral?"

Dear friends, one lesson we need to learn, and the line on which I wish to call it to my remembrance very often is this,—that we are only parts of a great whole. Some people will probably mix mortar all their

lives, and by and by it will be acknowledged that the one thing we could not have done without, was mortar. (Applause.) Parts of a great whole, you in your little corner and I in mine, you doing your part, and I doing mine, and all engaged in rearing the magnificent cathedral.

I rather think that there is an exhortation for all of us workers in this world, and especially as this is a woman's council, and we are here to talk of women's work. I have the exhortation from the divine lips,—to us women is the exhortation,—"Love one another!" I took up my morning paper the other day and read something like this (it is the old story, you know),—"Women love principles: they love a grand cause: they love schemes for the welfare of mankind, but they *don't* love one another!" *Women don't love one another?* I don't believe it, and, what is more, I know it is not true! And yet, I don't think it will hurt any of us women to heed the divine exhortation. We need to love each other deeply, we need to sympathize and love each other, when we are engaged in very different work and when we don't see at all alike.

I have met, since I came to Washington, a woman whom I have heard of by name ever since I can remember anything. We are not of the same faith,—she has devoted her life to what, during the past, I have shrunk from, and I met her for the first time; but I shall carry with me all through my life the impression of her spirit on my spirit, of the Christ-life, the Christ spirit. I got it before the woman had said five words to me, and I could have sat down at her feet and drank in the spirit of Jesus Christ that is in her, though she does not see him just as I do.

The lesson of the hour is the deepest Christian toleration and a boundless charity. (Applause.) That is the lesson. The only fear I have for women, the only prayer that goes up as I see the inevitable before women, is, "Oh, for a deeper spirituality!" Spiritual we must be: the child spirit must be in us, for that is the Christ spirit. Oh, to be like little children! And (if you will pardon me, for you will probably not know to whom I am alluding), as I looked in the face of the woman I had never seen before, the words came floating back,—"They could not resist the spirit with which he spake." It is the spirit we want! It is the spirit that we want in each of us women, so that all who come in contact with us, all who see us in our work, will not be able to resist the Christ in us. That is the need of the hour, and,—

> "Though on our heads no tongues of fire
> Their wondrous power impart,
> Grant, Saviour, what we more desire,
> Thy spirit in our heart."

Rev. Annie H. Shaw, after announcing the collection, spoke as follows:

I was very glad when I learned that Mrs. Bottome was going to give an exhortation. I said amen,—I don't know whether a theatre has any amen corner,—but I remember in the old days it was almost impossible to go to church anywhere without hearing the exhortation that followed the sermon.

There was one thing that impressed itself upon my mind in Mrs. Bottome's remarks, and that is the love and friendliness manifested by the women who gather themselves together.

I think it was the first time in the history of the world, when the great International Council of Women was held in this house three years ago, that women came together from all parts of the United States, Germany, England, Scotland, Finland, and the isles of the sea, women of all phases of Christian belief, and some of pagan belief, and yet even more Christian perhaps than some of us who *are* Christian,—women interested in all kinds of work. I believe women never realized the good there was in other women as they did when missionary women came here and met with grand suffrage women, and found out that the missionary women and woman suffrage women were working in the interest of the same humanity and doing the service of the same Master. There were Temperance women and King's Daughters, and I couldn't begin to tell you all the great organizations represented here; and every one of these women went away from that Council with a broader idea of the extent of woman's work, and with the conviction that no line of work could be pursued without coming into contact with other lines of work: and I think there has been a larger love among women, a deeper sympathy, than there ever was before in the history of the race.

And now to-day we gather on this platform Congregationalists, Unitarians, Universalists, Methodists, Presbyterians. Some one asks, "Why do you women take to all these liberal denominations?" I say, "Is it our fault that the Methodist Church and the Congregationalist Church have not opened their doors and said, 'Christ died for all,—the door of Christ's church is as wide open to God's daughters as to his sons,'—are we women to blame?" If the trouble is that women are more attached to the liberal churches than to the orthodox, there is one way to change it. Let the orthodox church open its doors and let us come in. (Applause.) I want to make this explanation because this criticism has been passed upon us. We will be Presbyterian, we will be Baptist,—deep water or shallow water,—and all other kinds if you will let us; but you won't let us.

THE PRESIDENT. Apropos of what my friend, Annie Shaw, has said, I will read a telegram from Rev. Louise Baker, of Nantucket. The women of Nantucket are all smart; possibly because on that island of Lucretia Mott, Maria Mitchell, and other remarkable women, the men had to go away on long whaling expeditions, and the women were com-

pelled to depend on their own resources. The Nantucket women are a remarkable set, always have been famed for their brains and their hearts. Rev. Louise S. Baker sent me this, dated Boston, 21st: "My brother passed away yesterday. Please excuse me to the Council." And that is why we have no Congregational voice; but there, seated on the sofa, is a very good Methodist voice, one who as a licensed preacher was loved by all, before our folks took it into their heads not to license any more.

Now, friends, before the sermon, it seems to me it would be well for us to rise and sing the first and last verses of our National hymn, "My Country, 'tis of thee,"—sing it in memory of him whose natal day it is; sing it in honor of our land, that he loved, and we love, and as they rise in reverence when they sing "God save the King," so let us rise.

After the singing the President presented to the audience the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, whose sermon * upon the texts, "For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear," "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth," was listened to with rapt attention.

In closing the meeting the President said,—

Let me repeat a thought from the Farewell Address of Washington, that has been in my mind this afternoon: "Labor to keep alive in your breast a spark of that celestial fire called conscience." I give it to you because it has done me good to think of it. I give it to you as a patriotic exchange this 22d of February.

After the singing of the Doxology, Rev. Ida C. Hultin pronounced the benediction.

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* The editor of the "Transactions" has made every effort to secure a copy of this sermon for insertion here, but without success.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1891.

FORMAL OPENING OF THE COUNCIL. CHARITIES AND PHILANTHROPIES.

THE PRESIDENT. The Council will please come to order, and the exercises will be opened by a vocal duet, which has the suggestive title—a happy omen in the title—"Eden Land." And I want you to notice that you are called together by a gavel which some woman's happy wit has wreathed with lilies.

As the different spokes of a great wheel all come together in the rim of it, in this great Council let us rejoice together, and listen to our sisters, and sing together about "Eden Land," which we hope to create on this sphere.

After the music, the President introduced Mrs. Mary H. B. Hitt, who opened the meeting with prayer.

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order on the programme is the introduction of delegates. The delegates to this Convention are of two orders or classes: first, the nine National Societies—National in scope and value—that have become members of the Women's Council; and next the Fraternal Delegates from other societies, friendly towards those who have cast in their lot with us, to the extent of sending, in response to our invitation, fraternal delegates. Thirty-one societies have sent such delegates. Usually, I think, they send two; they have in some cases sent one: so that we have nine National Societies as regular members of the Council, and thirty-one fraternal, making the evenness, as I perceive at this moment, of forty societies, which is about one for each year since the long march, headed by this courageous woman (Miss Anthony) and her lieutenants, first started out in the warfare for the rights of woman. Those who are in full membership in the Council are seated at my right hand, and those who are fraternal at the left, as they face the audience. We have decided to introduce in a formal manner only those who are regular members, but we welcome the Fraternal Delegates to seats on the platform, and let them see how they like it, and ask them to transfer their places to the right hand at the next Council,—to the regular seats.

I will now ask the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. May Wright Sewall,

to read the names, and they will respond. I will be glad if all ladies who are present who belong to the societies that these ladies represent as their delegate rises will rise in the audience. We are introducing the regular members of the Council.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall then read the following list:

1. THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
   Elizabeth Cady Stanton, President; Mary Seymour Howell, of New York, Delegate.
2. SOROSIS,
   Ella Dietz Clymer, President; Hester M. Poole, Delegate.
3. NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
   Frances E. Willard, President; Mary E. Lathrap, Delegate.
4. WOMAN'S NATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION,
   Mrs. M. L. Lincoln, President; Mary S. Lockwood, Delegate.
5. WIMODAUGHSIS,
   Rev. Annie H. Shaw, President; Mary Desha, Delegate.
6. NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION,
   Zina D. H. Young, President; Jane S. Richards, Delegate.
7. YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION,
   Elmina S. Taylor, President; Caroline S. Thomas, Delegate.
8. WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH,
   M. Louise Thomas, President; Emily S. Sherwood, Delegate.
9. INDUSTRIAL REFORM SCHOOL, WITH NATIONAL CHARTER,
   Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace, President, and also Delegate.

THE PRESIDENT. Delegates and members will be seated, and we have a pleasant climax in the presence of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, of the American Association for the Advancement of Women. (Applause). We will have it for our understanding that when any person is introduced, whether member or not, we would be glad to have her rise. We are now going to be inspired in heart and voice by singing, in honor of its author, the first and last verses of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and it should be always sung standing.

After the singing the Vice-President of the Council, Miss Anthony, said,—

Good friends, the time has now come for the President's address, and I need not say to you who is the President of this first Triennial Council of Women,—Frances E. Willard, whom all America honors at this day. (Applause).

WOMEN AND ORGANIZATOIN.

FRANCES E. WILLARD. Beloved Friends and Comrades in a Sacred Cause: "A difference of opinion on one question must not prevent us from working unitedly in those on which we can agree."

These words from the opening address before the International Council convened in this auditorium three years ago were the key-note of a most tuneful chorus. The name of her who uttered words so harmo-

nious is Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and it shall live forever in the annals of woman's heroic struggle up from sexhood into humanhood.

Our friends have said that, as President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Stanton leads the largest army of women outside, and I the largest one inside, the realm of a conservative theology. However this may be, I rejoice to see the day when, with distinctly avowed loyalty to my Methodist faith, and as distinctly avowed respect for the sincerity with which she holds to views quite different, I can clasp hands in loyal comradeship with one whose dauntless voice rang out over the Nation for "woman's rights" when I was but a romping girl upon a prairie farm.

It has taken women of brains and purpose over forty years to find out that they could be true to the faith born with them (nourished at the bosom where their infant heads were pillowed, and taught them at their mother's knee, until its fibres are part and parcel of their own), and yet in the thickening battle for "the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free," could keep step with any soldier and heed the voice of any captain who was fighting

> "For the cause that lacks assistance
> 'Gainst the wrong that needs resistance,
> For the future in the distance,
> And a woman's right to do."

"Would that Blücher or night were come!" said Wellington at Waterloo, and surely night without a morning would have come ere this in the great final battle for the overthrow of that proud usurping Napoleon, better known as Brute Force, had not the two divisions of the conquering army of womanhood effected a junction in the last decades of this last Old-World century.

In saying this let me distinctly disavow any banding together of women as malcontents or hostiles towards the correlated other half of the human race. Brute force, to my mind, means custom as opposed to reason, prejudice as the antagonist of fair play, and precedent as the foe of common sense. This classification blots out the sex line altogether; for, alas, what a horde of well-meaning women it arrays against the ideas for which this Council stands, and huzza for the army of great hearts it sets in array among men, as our valiant allies in the thick of the fight!

It was a beautiful saying of the earlier Methodists, when they avowed a holy life, "I feel nothing contrary to love." But the widening march of Christianity has given a wonderfully practical sense to such words, and we actually mean here to-day that whatever in custom or law is contrary to that love of one's neighbor which would give to him or her all the rights and privileges that one's self enjoys, is but a relic of brute force, and is to be cast out as evil.

And because woman in some of our American Commonwealths is still so related to the law that the father can will away an unborn child, and that a girl of seven or ten years old is held to be the equal partner in a crime where another and a stronger is the principal; because she is in so many ways hampered and harmed by laws and customs pertaining to the past, we reach out hands of help especially to her that she may overtake the swift-marching procession of progress, for its sake that it may not slacken its speed on her account as much as for hers that she be not left behind. We thus represent the human rather than the woman question, and our voices unite to do that which the President of our New York Sorosis so beautifully said in a late letter to the Sorosis of Bombay:

"*Tell them the world was made for woman, too!*"

Every atom says to every other one, "Combine," and, doing so, they change chaos into order. When every woman shall say to every other, and every workman shall say to every other, "Combine," the war-dragon shall be slain, the poverty-viper shall be exterminated, the gold-bug transfixed by a silver pin, the saloon drowned out, and the last white slave liberated from the woods of Wisconsin and the bagnios of Chicago and Washington.

For combination is "a game that two can play at;" the millionaires have taught us how, and the labor-tortoise is fast overtaking the capitalistic hare. What was it Mrs. Stanton said? "A difference of opinion on one question must not prevent us from working unitedly in those on which we can agree."

Illustrations of this great principle (so long universally recognized by men, whether Jew or Gentile, orthodox or heterodox, in all their humanitarian and patriotic work) are more conspicuously manifest in the programme of this Council than ever before in the forty-year long annals of the woman movement, for here we have nearly forty different societies represented by delegates either regular or fraternal.

Could anything be broader than the basis laid for this great organization? Its Preamble declares:

"We women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law."

Its "general policy" is stated in these words:

"This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy: therefore, no society voting to become auxiliary to this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered

with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society or to any utterance or act of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of its Constitution."

Its constitutional requirements are simply that, having been declared eligible by the Council's Executive Committee, the intending auxiliary shall vote to be one actually and shall send its dues to the Treasurer. These are twenty-five dollars plus half a cent once in three years from each member of the auxiliary, or one hundred dollars for the entire society if preferred. The present form of organization is very simple, any society of women that is National in scope or value being, when the foregoing arrangements are made, entitled to representation in the Executive Committee of the Council by its president (who becomes a Vice-President of the Council), and in the committee of arrangements for the triennial meeting by a delegate chosen by the auxiliary society itself.

Having stated the actual basis of the Council, let me mention some objections made to it by thoughtful and friendly women who desire the success and highest usefulness of this most ambitious of all the efforts of American women in the department of organization.

The objections may be included under four heads.

First, that the fee is too large to be paid by missionary and other societies that collect their funds for specific uses and do not feel at liberty to divert them into any outside channel.

Second, that it is a misnomer to declare one National society "auxiliary" to another. The National W. C. T. U. (although it very properly and dutifully joined us) urged this objection strongly, contending with much show of reason that the National Council should not expect the largest society of women in the world, thoroughly organized and officered and having fourteen years of systematic work behind it, to become one of its tributaries in authority and in the payment of dues.

Third, that in effect the American Association for the Advancement of Women, with its "Woman's Congress" annually held, affords opportunity for a gathering of leaders, a discussion of current topics, and a general reporting of progress through its vice-presidents in each State.

Fourth, that to make the presidents of existing organizations *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents of the Council tends towards building up a hierarchy, and that the better way would be to let each auxiliary choose its representative on the Executive Committee of the Council, thus more closely allying the latter with the rank and file of women-workers throughout the land, and increasing the number and variety of leaders among women.

To my mind there is more or less of force in all these criticisms, and I hope they will all be most carefully considered. Having been chairman of the committee that formulated the original plans, I may, with especial appropriateness, urge the careful study of all objections to the same. We

have now worked three years under those plans and learned thei
as well as their excellences.

Let me then frankly say that I believe we should organize a n
council in every town and city, confederating these in every St
instructing the State Council to send delegates to the National
The plan would be to let these delegates form a lower and the
National societies an upper house, whose concurrent vote should l
tial to the enunciation of any principle or the adoption of a
The president of this society should be (as has already been w
dained by this Council) eligible for but one term, and should hav
to choose her own cabinet of seven from the ablest women of the
representing the industries, education, professions, philanthropies,
and the religious and political work of women. We should tl
within the National Government, as carried on by men, a reg
women, duly organized and officered, not in any wise antago
men, but conducted in their interest as much as in our own, and
towards such mutual fellowship among women, such breadth of kn
and sympathy as should establish solidarity of sentiment and
throughout the nation of women-workers, put a premium upon c
as against isolated efforts for human betterment, minify the sens
hood and magnify that of otherhood, training and tutoring wo
the next great step in the evolution of humanity, when men an
shall sit side by side in Government and the nations shall lear
more.

The Upper Council, as it might be called, would, by this plan
of two delegates from each society which, in its judgment, was
in scope or value, one being the president of that society, the oth
by ballot at its last annual meeting preceding the session of th
(which I would have convened biennially). This Upper Cour
answer to the Senate of the United States, and the Lower Cour
up of delegates chosen by the forty-four State councils from th
aries, would be analogous to the House of Representatives.
thus have an organization that would include all the various
women hitherto isolated (and, as a consequence, in some degr
cial), while its basis would be so broad, its aims so far-reachi
plan so unique that no other society could consider its realm i
encroached upon.

The same democratic basis of organization should extend
council,—*i.e.*, each should be made up of two delegates from
society of women in the city, town, or village, one being the p
said local society and the other chosen by ballot of that so
State Council should be made up of two delegates each, ch
manner from the local councils, these to form a lower house

Council, and the presidents, with one other representative of each State society, to form the Upper Council in each State, the President and Vice-President of the National Council to be elected biennially by a popular vote of all members of all local societies tributary to the National Council.

We have wished for a method of inducing women to cast their ballots on a large scale; this would be quite sure to arouse an enthusiasm that would "call out the vote."

As a financial basis, I would propose a dime a year to the National Council from each woman in each local organization of women in the United States. This would be burdensome to no one and would be paid outside of all other fees.

"Something solid, and superior to any existing society, is what we want." This is the commentary of women with whom I have talked, and the foregoing outline is offered as a possible help towards meeting this very natural and reasonable requirement. Such a National society would, indeed, incalculably increase the world's sum total of womanly courage, efficiency, and *esprit de corps;* widening our horizon, correcting the tendency to an exaggerated impression of one's own work as compared with that of others, and putting the wisdom and expertness of each at the service of all. Nor would it require a vast amount of effort to bring such a great movement into being, for the work of organizing is already done, and the correlating of societies now formed could be divided among our leaders, each one taking a State or a number of chief towns and cities.

Being organized in the interest of no specific propapanda, this great Association would unite in cordial sympathy all existing societies of women, that with a mighty aggregate of power we might move in directions upon which we could agree.

Moreover, the tendency would be vastly to increase the interest of individual women in associated work and the desire of local societies to be federated nationally, individual women and isolated societies of women being ineligible to membership in the Councils, whether local, State, or National.

But the greatest single advantage will perhaps be this, that while each society devoted to a specific end will continue to pursue this by its own methods, every organization will have the moral support of all others, and will be in a position to add its influence to that of all others, for such outside movements of beneficence as it may approve. For instance, without a dissenting voice, the International Council of 1888 put itself on record to the following effect:

"It is the unanimous voice of the Council that all institutions of learning and of professional instruction, including schools of theology, law, and medicine, should, in the interests of humanity, be as freely opened to women as to men; that opportunities for industrial training should be as generally and as liberally provided for one sex as for the

other, and the representatives of organized womanhood in this Council will steadily demand that in all avocations in which both men and women engage, equal wages shall be paid for equal work; and, finally, that an enlightened society should demand, as the only adequate expression of the high civilization which it is its office to establish and maintain, an identical standard of personal purity and morality for men and women."

Probably there is not an intelligent woman in America who would not subscribe to this declaration. The only point of possible difference would be the opening of theological schools to women; and since Oberlin and Hartford, Boston and Evanston theological seminaries have done this, and it does not necessarily involve the ordination of women, that difference would not be likely to arise.

Were there such a council of women in town and city, State and Nation, we should have our representatives constantly at the State and National capitals, and should ask unitedly for advantages that have heretofore been asked for only by separate societies. Laws for the better protection of women, married and single; laws protecting the property rights of married women and giving them equal power with their husbands over their children; laws making the kindergarten a part of the public school system; requiring lessons in physical culture and gymnastics to be given in all grades of the public school with special reference to health and purity of personal habitudes; National and State appropriations for common school and industrial education, and appropriations for institutions helpful to women,—surely we might together strive for all of these.

Locally a woman's council should, in the interest of that "mothering" which is the central idea of our new movement, seek to secure for women admission to all school committees, library associations, hospital and other institutional boards intrusted with the care of the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes; also to boards of trustees in school and college and all professional and business associations; also to all college and professional schools that have not yet set before us an open door; and each local Council should have the power to call in the united influence of its own State Council, or, in special instances, of the National Council, if its own influence did not suffice.

I am confident that the development of this movement will impart to women such a sense of strength and courage, and their corporate self-respect will so increase, that such theatrical bills as we now see displayed will not be permitted for an hour, without our potent protest; and the exhibitions of women's forms and faces in the saloons and cigar-stores, which women's self-respect will never let them enter, and the disgraceful literature now for sale on so many public news-stands, will not be tolerated by the womanhood of any town or city. An "Anatomical Museum" that I often pass on a Chicago street bears the words, "Gentlemen only admitted." Why do women passively accept these flaunting assumptions

that men are expected to derive pleasure from objects that they would not for a moment permit their wives to see? Some day women will not accept them passively, and then these base exhibitions will cease, for women will purify every place they enter, and they will enter every place. Catholic and Protestant women would come to a better understanding of each other through working thus for mutual interests; Jew and Gentile would rejoice in the manifold aims of a practical Christianity; women who work because they must; women, true-souled enough to work because they ought, or, best of all, great-souled enough to work because they love humanity, will all meet on one broad platform large enough and strong enough to furnish standing-room for all. Later on, who knows but that by means of this same Council we women might free ourselves from that stupendous bondage which is the basis of all others,—the unhealthfulness of fashionable dress! "Courage is as contagious as cowardice," and the courage of a council of women may yet lead us into the liberty of a costume tasteful as it is reasonable, and healthful as it is chaste.

Another practical outcome that might be looked for from such a confederation of women's efforts in religious and philanthropic, educational and industrial work, might be the establishment in every town and city of head-quarters for women's work of every kind. There they could have a home for their enterprises, a hall for their meetings, and, by building on the plan that Mrs. Carse suggests, and we are carrying out in Chicago, they could, from the rental of such a building, realize money for their work. The recent gift from the projectors of Glen Echo (the great Chautauqua adjoining Washington, D.C.) of ample grounds on which to locate a National Temple for this Council, marks another epoch in the movement to "arise and build," which is the latest material evolution of our mighty cause.

Still another great advantage would be the wide attention given to conclusions reached by such a representative body of women. The best ideas of leaders are now entombed in their annual addresses, leaflets, and books intended for a single society. But literature issued by the National Council would command the well-nigh universal attention of intelligent women, and would furnish such a fund of facts, statistics, and results of the individual and associated study of reformers now isolated in their work, as would be of incalculable value to students of the many and widely-varied enterprises to which women are devoting themselves with so much zeal. In this connection, let me say that to develop the great quality of corporate as well as individual self-respect, I believe no single study would do more than that of Frances Power Cobbe's noble book on "The Duties of Women." It ought to be in the hands of every woman who has taken for her motto loyalty to "heart within, and God o'erhead," and surely it ought to be in the hands of every one who has not this high

aim, while I am certain that every man who lives would be a nobler husband, son, and citizen of the great world if he would give this book his thoughtful study.

A little girl has defined a secret as "something which somebody says in a whisper to everybody," and my secret thought concerning organization among women has been here uttered in what I hope may prove to be what Fanny Fern designated as the whispered voice,—namely, "one loud enough to be heard in South America." I wish that at least this Council would ask its officers to consider and report upon this plan some time within the present year, giving them power to act.

A pan of milk sours in a thunder-storm, and must stand still ere cream will come. So is it with our minds. Their sober second thought is best attained in solitude. We have long met to read essays, make speeches, and prepare petitions; let us hereafter meet, in this great Council, to *legislate* for Womanhood, for Childhood and the Home. Men have told us solemnly, have told us often and in good faith, no doubt, that "they would grant whatever the women of the Nation asked." Our time to ask *unitedly* has waited long, but it is here at last. Goethe has said, "Talent is nurtured best in solitude, but character on life's tempestuous sea," and to make the world wider for women and happier for humanity the wonder-working powers of organization are essential, the chaos of individuality giving place to the cosmos of aggregated influence and power.

He who climbs, sees. Poets tell us of

> "The one far off, divine event,
> Toward which the whole creation moves,"

and in this mighty movement towards the power that organization only can bestow, what end have we in view? Is it fame, fortune, leadership? Not as I read women's hearts, who have known them long and well. It is for love's sake,—for the bringing in of peace on earth, good-will to men. The two supreme attractions in nature are those of gravitation and cohesion. That of cohesion attracts atom to atom, that of gravitation attracts all atoms to a common centre. We find in this the most conclusive figure of the supremacy of love to God over any human love, the true relation of human to the love divine, and the conclusive proof that in organizing for the greatest number's greatest good, we do but "think God's thoughts after Him."

WOMEN PLUS TIME.

Concerning time, there is this exhaustive classification: we either kill, spend, or invest it. Starting in life, we have ourselves plus time; this is our "unearned increment."

Since we sat here in the Council, a three-year cycle has swept by in which women have wrought more widely and more worthily than in any ten years before, and what have they been doing with their time?

Let Philippa Fawcett answer, with her famous four hundred marks above the mercifully-nameless "Senior Wrangler" of Cambridge University.

Let Miss Alford, niece of the great Dean Alford, answer, with her first honors in the classical tripos of the same great seat of learning; and Helen Reed, who won the Sargent prize at our own "Fair Harvard," ere long to become more worthy of its name by reason of fair play rendered to the fair sex. Let Mademoiselle Belasco, of Bucharest, answer, who passed the best examination in the Paris law school and is the first lawyer known to human annals who studied that profession in order to defend the poor without a fee. Let Florence Holland answer, who last year won a "double first" in Latin and in English at Calcutta University. Let the world of books reply with more new and brilliant lights looming above the horizon in literature and journalism than can be catalogued outside the index pages and advertising columns of our magazines, and the general admission that the best-selling novels of recent years have been by women.

Let Rev. Juniata Breckenridge reply, a graduate of Oberlin Theological Seminary, now by act of a Congregational council licensed as a preacher in that conservative communion; or Rev. Mrs. Drake, recently ordained to preach the Gospel "by the largest council of Congregational ministers ever assembled in the State" of Iowa. Let Miss Greenwood, of Brooklyn, answer with her record as superintendent of evangelistic work in the National W. C. T. U., and her list of over seven hundred women preachers and evangelists. Let the Catholic Katherine Drexel speak, who, on February 12, consecrated herself by solemn vows to the exclusive service of the Indian and the negro, devoting her fortune of seven million dollars to their religious, intellectual, and social elevation. As true a priestess as walks the earth is such a woman in this mammon-loving age.

What have women been doing with their time? Let Dr. Emily Blackwell, of New York City, speak for women in medicine. She does so in this letter, recently received:

"The first diploma given to a woman was that of Elizabeth Blackwell, Geneva (N.Y.) Medical College, 1849. The census of 1880 gives two thousand four hundred; that of 1890 will probably double the number. There are one hundred and fifty in China, and there must be as many more in Hindoostan."

Let Miss Greene, of Boston, tell us, a member of the bar in that city, who says that the first woman lawyer was admitted in Iowa in 1869; that there are now enrolled one hundred and ten women lawyers, including several who have been admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Consider the fact that more than eighty-two per cent. of all our public school-teachers are women; that over two hundred colleges have now over four thousand women students; that industrial schools for girls are being founded in almost every State; that hardly a score of colleges in all the nation still exclude us, and that these begin to look sheepish and speak in tones apologetic, while the University of Pennsylvania was lately opened, Barnard College in New York is the annex to magnificent Columbia, and the Methodist University of Washington, D.C., the Leland Stanford and Chicago Universities, with countless millions back of them, are, in all their departments, including divinity, to be open to women. Reflect that we are admitted to the theological seminaries of the Methodist, Congregational, and Universalist Churches, to say nothing of half a dozen smaller ecclesiastical communions; that the Free Baptist and several other churches now welcome women delegates to their highest councils, while we vote in the local assembly of almost every church in Christendom, except the Catholic; and that, while some of us were rejected as delegates by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888, that body submitted the question to a vote of two million Methodists, and sixty-two per cent. of those "present and voting" declared in favor of complete equality within the "household of faith."

Besides all this, remember that the order of deaconesses is now recognized in the Episcopal and Methodist Churches, and is practically certain to be within this year by Presbyterians; that a simple, reasonable costume is insured to those who enter upon this vocation, and they are to be cared for in sickness and age, thus being at one stroke relieved of a lifetime's care in return for their service to humanity. Pass in review the philanthropies of women,—involving not fewer than sixty societies of National scope or value, with their hundreds of State and tens of thousands of local auxiliaries both North and South, and the countless local boards organized to help the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes in town and city (all of whom would be stronger if each class were correlated nationally); study the "college settlements" or colonies of college women who establish themselves in the poorer parts of great cities and work on the plan of Toynbee Hall, London; think of the women's protective agencies, women's sanitary associations and exchanges, industrial schools and societies for physical culture,—all of which are but clusters on the heavy-laden boughs of the Christian civilization which raises woman up and, with her, lifts towards heaven the world.

Contemplate the Women's Foreign and Home Missionary Societies, relative to which an expert tells us that the first was "organized about a quarter of a century ago, and now most of the denominations have both associations, with a contributing membership of about one and one-half millions. They circulate about one hundred and twenty-five thousand

copies of missionary papers, besides millions of pages of leaflets. They hold at least a half-million missionary meetings every year, presided over by women, the addresses made and papers read by the sisterhood that, forty years ago, would no sooner have thought of doing such a work than they would of taking a journey to the moon. They raise and distribute about two millions of money every year, and these several boards scan each little investment with as much care as if a fortune were to be made in discovering an error in the accounts."

Marshal in blessed array the King's Daughters, two hundred thousand strong, with their hallowed motto, "In His Name;" the Society of Christian Endeavor, with its immense contingent of women; reflect that a woman spoke before the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, at its late meeting, in the presence of distinguished prelates of that church, which, while beyond most others utilizing the money, devotion, and work of women, is most conservative of all when their public efforts are concerned. Remember the pathetic figure of our beloved little Pundita Ramabai as she stood pleading the cause of high-caste Hindoo widows upon this platform three years ago, and rejoice that in her school at Poona the dream is coming true.

Surely time has neither been "killed" nor "spent," but blessedly *invested* by all these shining ranks of "women at work" for God and for Humanity.

Every woman who vacates a place in the teachers' ranks and enters an unusual line of work does two excellent things: she makes room for some one waiting for a place and helps to open a new vocation for herself and other women. In view of this, consider what it means to all of us, that women have now taken their places successfully in almost every rank from author and artist, lecturer and journalist, to dentist and barber, farmer and ranchman, stock-broker and steamboat captain.

Concerning this tremendous evolution, I tried in vain to get the footings of the late United States census.

Statistics give 5,500,000 women as the number who earn their own living by industrial pursuits in Germany, 4,000,000 in England, 3,750,000 in France, about the same number in Austria-Hungary, and in America over 2,700,000.

This much I can give of my own knowledge in the way of detailed statement concerning women's work: the Women's Temperance Publishing Association, Chicago, with its annual issue of from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and twenty-five million pages, an institution in which women own all the stock, constitute the board of directors, do all the editing, and a woman, Mrs. F. H. Rastall, is the business manager, handled last year over two hundred thousand dollars.

Women, led by Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, are erecting in Chicago a

temple to cost one million one hundred thousand dollars, not for show and not for glory, but to afford by its rentals the wherewithal to carry on their work of philanthropy and reform throughout the Nation. Societies of women are now very generally planning for buildings of their own in leading towns and cities.

The business women of the country have a first-class journal under the care of Miss Mary F. Seymour, 38 Park Row, New York, and the *Woman's Journal*, Boston, and *Woman's Tribune*, Washington, are, with *The Union Signal*, of Chicago, the *Church Union*, of New York, and *The Home Maker*, edited by Mrs. J. C. Croly (Jennie June), the guiding journalistic lights of our advance.

Recently, in Gotham, women have formed a society for political study, and have organized the Ladies' Health Protective Association in that untidy town. In several States they have engineered laws through the legislatures whereby lady physicians have positions and salaries in several State institutions, and no gentleman intermeddleth therewith! Women have also, and notably within the last three years, secured laws for the better protection of their own sex; have immeasurably increased the property rights of married women and their rights to their children under the law; have obtained appropriations for reformatories for women and homes for those morally degraded.

Women are now on the county and city school-boards of Chicago; they are sanitary inspectors in that municipality; they are police matrons in nearly all our large cities, and even London is moving in the same direction; they have been delegates to the Prohibition party's National Convention and to the recent great Convention of the Farmers' Alliance in Ocala, Florida; while in the Presidential campaign since we met here before, Republican clubs of women were organized by a National committee, the Democratic party being the only one that has not yet nationally given token of marching with the age in which it lives.

Since we last met, and for the first time in history, the World's Fair has a separate commission of women provided and provided for by the United States Government; and, to crown all, two dauntless women have spun around this little planet in about ten weeks, while the prospect is that, by air-ship, we shall all spin round in five days, or thereabouts, within the next decade.

The air of these last days is electric with delightful tidings. In New York City, such leaders as Mary Putnam Jacobi and Mrs. Agnew have rallied around Dr. Emma Kempin, the learned lawyer from Zurich, and are helping to make it easier than ever before for women to enter the learned profession that has been most thickly hedged away from them. In Baltimore, Miss Mary Garrett, the most progressive woman of wealth that our country has produced, leads the movement that will yet open

Johns Hopkins University to us, and has already mortgaged its medical college to the admission of women. In the recent National Convention of Public School Teachers, women were made vice-presidents for the first time, and given an equal voice in all proceedings; while the International Sunday-School Convention, that meets but once in three years, made a similar advance; and the Christian Endeavor Society, that has enrolled in the last ten years over seven hundred and fifty thousand men and women, places the sexes side by side in all its purposes and plans. On the platform of the Massachusetts Women Suffragists, two weeks ago, sat, and in its programme participated, ladies representing the alumnæ of Mount Holyoke College, no longer a "female seminary," be it thankfully observed; also Vassar and Wellesley: a tableau that, in view of inherent college conservatism, could not have been furnished for our rejoicing eyes had not the disenthralment of women become a most respectable and already a well-nigh triumphant reform.

Compare the significance of that spectacle with the first announcement by Mrs. Emma Willard in 1819, when she submitted to the New York Legislature her plan for the higher education of girls,—the very first on record in this country,—but emphatically declared that she wished to produce no "college-bred *females*," and that there would be no "exhibitions" in her school, since "public speaking forms no part of *female* education."

Seeing those three wise college women seated in Tremont Temple beside Lucy Stone, two weeks ago, one could hardly believe that, as Mrs. May Wright Sewall tells us, Harvard College was founded one hundred and fifty-three years before the slightest provision for the education of girls was made by Massachusetts; or that, for one hundred and thirty-five years after public schools were established in Boston for boys, girls were not even admitted to learn reading or writing "for a part of the year." It has taken sixty years so to dignify and individualize woman as to make of words accepted once, epithets that refined natures now discard. For instance, that ex-President of the United States who, in a recent after-dinner speech in New York City, referred to Anna Dickinson, the most brilliant orator of our civil war, as a "female," did not improve his standing by that ill-chosen designation. While I would by no means defend that gifted woman for referring to the personage in question as "the Hangman of Buffalo," I beg respectfully to remind him that the vocabulary in which women who speak in public are characterized as "females" and "female orators" has long since passed into "innocuous desuetude."

Now let us widen the outlook to its utmost and see what forty years have wrought along the picket line of our advance,—actual participation in the government. Nineteen thousand women voted in Boston alone on

a decisive school question in 1888, and in a driving snow-stor have the ballot now on school questions in twenty-two State nicipal and school suffrage in Kansas and Oklahoma; whil tutional enactment, ratified by a vote of eight to one among they are fully disenthralled in the free mountain State of Well sang a woman of that happy Commonwealth on the da mission to the family of States:

> "The first Republic of the world
> Now greets the day, its flag unfurled
> To the pure mountain air.
> On plains, in canyon, shop, and mine,
> The star of equal rights shall shine,
> From its blue folds, with light divine—
> A symbol bright and fair."

John Bright said that agitation is but "the marshalling o conscience to right its laws," and in this large view eve woman must perceive her duty to be made willing to vote if already. The new United States Senator from Kansas pu pithily in a recent speech. He said:

> "At the dawn of the twentieth century, the United States will be go people that live in them. When that good time comes, women will vote drinking."

The first ballots ever cast by women for the election of a N will be those of Wyoming women in 1892. A happy man indee next President to be should the candidate for which a majorit chised women vote come to the throne of power, and from his tion women would have much to hope,—at least in post-office Our expectation of justice is not in the lily-handed men of co and cloister, but in the farmers whose "higher education" h Grange, and in the mechanics trained by trades-unions and of Labor. These are the men who have been known to because sewing-women toiled at starving rates; who stand sto motto, "Equal pay for equal work;" who declare in their pl we shall have the ballot, and who are the force that shall yet an evenness between the eight-hour day of the husband and hour day of the wife!

SOCIAL PURITY.

The chief significance of Parnell's present discrowned est but little emphasized as yet in the public mind; but, to my t woman question has had no triumph so signal in our gener not many years since any man of great gifts and splendid pul ments in the interest of humanity, was entirely separated in t the people into two characters. As a hero, he stood forth

world knew of him in his relations to the world; but as a man, in his relations to women, he was altogether a different personality, with whom the public had nothing whatever to do, and, no matter how basely he might conduct himself, it was no concern of theirs, because the estimate of woman was so much beneath that which is now held. She was but an adjunct of man, and called, by many of the greatest among men, "a necessary evil." But in these later years she has become a daughter of God, an individual, a personality of intellect, of power, of judgment, and every woman who presents to the world that aspect has, by the laws of mind, helped to dignify womankind in the thought of every person who thinks at all concerning women. The popular concept of womanhood is but a composite photograph of woman made up from the deductions of a million minds concerning millions of women, and the highest office of the modern woman is that when the mental photograph she makes becomes a part of this mighty composite picture so determinative of destiny, that picture shall take on a loftier aspect. So it has been; women, good, gifted, undaunted, have added themselves by thousands and tens of thousands in the home, the school, the church, the state, to the popular concept of womanhood, so that when Parnell, great hero that he is, ruins one woman and despoils one home, his features as a hero are so blurred and distorted to the eye of nations that he must step down and out. Nor would I in the least forget that Mrs. O'Shea has blurred, so far as her poor little individuality could, the composite photograph of womankind. But, then, there has not been one word spoken in her favor! She was nothing to anybody but Captain O'Shea and the once great Irish hero. Her penalty is heavy enough in the nature of the case. But God be thanked that we live in an age when men as a class have risen to such an appreciation of women as a class, that the mighty tide of their public sentiment will drown out any man's reputation who is false to woman and the home. And this, which is true now in large degree throughout the world, will be a thousand times more true a century from now.

CO-OPERATIVE HAPPINESS.

In the epoch on which we have entered, labor will doubtless come to be the only potentate, and, "for value received," will have the skilled toil of the human species as its sole basis of any "specie payment;" "a note of hand" having no offset save the human hand at work. For man added to nature is all the capital there is on earth: and "the best that any mortal hath is that which every mortal shares." But nature belongs equally to all men; hence the only genuine capital and changeless medium of exchange, always up to par value, is labor itself, and there will eventually be no more antagonism between capital and labor than between the right hand and the left. Labor is the intelligent and beneficent reaction

of man upon nature. This reaction sets force enough in motion to float him in all waters and carry him across all continents. His daily labor, then, is the natural equivalent he furnishes for food and clothing, fuel and shelter, and it is the supreme interest of the State to prepare the individual in head, hand, and heart to put forth his highest power. Carried to its legitimate conclusion, this is the socialism of Christ; the Golden Rule in action; the basis of that golden age which shall succeed this age of gold. There is no devil's delusion so complete as that "blue blood" is best. That it is really the cheapest and thinnest blood of all is proved by the fact that the blue veins, from which we get the phrase, are but the symptoms of poor health, and he who has poor health is poor indeed. That a white hand is to be desired is another first-class delusion, and in time to come the white hand will be a badge of inferiority and progressive paralysis, while the brown hand of self-help will be the hand of holiness. Women are beginning to study the labor question, that whale to which politicians are now throwing tubs, and which spouts so foamily in the deep sea of living issues. Women, as a class, have been the world's chief toilers; it is a world-old proverb that "their work is never done." But the value put upon that work is pointedly illustrated in the reply recently given by an ancient Seminole to one of our white ribboners who visited the reservation of that tribe in Florida, where she saw oxen grazing and a horse roaming the pasture, while two women were grinding at the mill, pushing its wheels laboriously by hand. Turning to the old Indian chief who sat by, the temperance woman said, with pent-up indignation, "Why don't you yoke the oxen or harness the horses and let them turn the mill?" The "calm view" set forth in his answer contains a whole body of evidence touching the woman question. Hear him: "Horse cost money; ox cost money; *squaw cost nothing.*"

After all, there were tons of philosophy in the phrase; for, by the laws of mind, each person in a community is estimated according to his relation to the chief popular standard of value. To-day, in this commercial civilization of ours, money is that standard. Hence the emancipation of women must come, first of all, along industrial lines. She must, in her skilled head and hands, represent financial values. To-day the standard is gold; to-morrow it will be gifts; the next day, character. But, in the slow, systematic process of evolution it is only through financial freedom that she will rise to that truer freedom which is the measure of all her faculties in trained, harmonious, and helpful exercise.

It was Carlyle who said that "the epic poem of the future shall not begin like that of Virgil, 'Arms and a man I sing,' but, '*Tools* and a man I sing,'"—only that man shall be a woman, too; and her own quick, deft, and skilful hand shall be her bread-winner.

Just thirty years ago, in 1861, General Spinner, of grateful memory,

proposed the admission of women to employment in the United States Treasury. As Salmon P. Chase was Secretary of that Department, his permission was sought and freely obtained, but so much difficulty was made by men who wanted the work, that Attorney-General Edward Bates had to render an opinion favorable to the women, and we may well believe that Abraham Lincoln, always our friend, was in sympathy with the movement. Not a little annoyance was endured by the three officers who publicly took up the women's cause. A variegated and complete assortment of nightcaps, labelled with the word "Grandmother," and other epithets intended to be equally opprobious, was sent them through the post-office, also letters containing vituperative threats that failed of their intention.

It is not too much to claim that a new era dawned for woman, industrially and officially, when the imperial people's Government thus for the first time recognized her right to a share in the good things it has to give.

For my part, I would have woman everywhere treated as an individual and not as belonging to a tribe. I would have her portion under the sun assigned to her in severalty, and would teach her as rapidly as possible to become a citizen of the world on equal terms with every other citizen.

No words more cogent have been spoken on the industrial disenthralment of women than by Edward Bellamy, who told me once that when he felt the touch of his little girl's hand upon his cheek the exclamation of Luther, "This is a hard world for girls," came to his lips, and he set about advocating social conditions that should make it less difficult and dangerous.

The February issue of that breezy magazine, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, is of especial interest. Compare it with a twenty-year old *Godey*, and, in spite of its puny-waisted fashion-plates, see how much more roomy now is woman's world. And its most significant article this month is Edward Bellamy's "Woman in the Year 2000." Here he shows the supreme importance to society of industrial independence among women. He claims that within two or three generations there will be but one great business corporation—the state—in which all men and women shall have an equal share,—say one, three, or five thousand a year, which, as matters now stand, is certainly most generous of him, especially as it is to come through no masculine intermediary, but straight into our own, in that day, ample and numerous pockets. For woman is to "share and share alike" in this national income with the noblest Roman of them all, and, being thus rendered perfectly "secure and comfortable" for life, she will not marry except for love; and, if she does not marry at all, will be under no pecuniary or social disadvantage. He says:

"Would you gain a realization of the position of the 'old maid' in the year 2000? If so look at the lordly bachelor of to-day, the hero of romance, the cynosure of the

drawing-room and of the promenade. Even as that bright being, like him, self-poised, serenely *insouciant*, free as air will the 'old maid' of the year 2000 be. It is altogether probable, by the way, that the term 'old maid' will by that time have fallen into disuse. But while the unmarried woman of the year 2000, whether young or old, will enjoy the dignity and independence of the bachelor of to-day, the insolent prosperity at present enjoyed by the latter will have passed into salutary, if sad, eclipse. No longer profiting by the effect of the pressure of economic necessity upon woman, to make him indispensable, but dependent exclusively upon his intrinsic attractions, instead of being able to assume the fastidious airs of a sultan surrounded by languishing beauties, he will be fortunate if he can secure by his merits the smiles of one.

"In the year 2000 no man, whether lover or husband, may hope to win the favor of maid or wife save by desert."

Surely desert is a vast improvement upon desertion as the divorce courts illustrate the latter in these unpoetic days!

But there is another aspect of Mr. Bellamy's plan that has still greater interest. Hear him once more:

"There is another and profoundly tragic aspect of the relation of the sexes, which by no means may be passed over in considering what Nationalism will do for womanhood. The same economical pressure which brings the mass of women into a relation of dependence upon men, rendered more or less tolerable according to the degree of mutual affection, reduces a great multitude of women, who are not fortunate enough to find adequate masculine support, to a form of slavery more morally degrading than any other, and more complete in its indignity. This most ancient form of bondage, which has grown up with the race, and flourishes to-day in the face of civilization and Christendom as widely and as vigorously as ever, which no wisdom of the economist, no zeal of the philanthropist has ever availed to diminish, Nationalism, by the necessary operation of its fundamental principle, will at once and forever extirpate. Want, on the one hand, will no longer drive the virtuous woman to dishonor, nor, on the other, will wealth in the hands of unscrupulous men tempt her frivolous sister."

While I am perfectly aware that the Woman's Council, as such, does not accept the theories herein set forth, their presentation by America's chief apostle of industrial reform (of whose book, "Looking Backward," half a million copies have been published) seems to me to assign to the industrial emancipation of women no higher rank than it deserves. Helen Campbell tells us that two hundred thousand women are at work in a hundred different trades in New York City, and of these we learn that twenty-seven thousand support their own husbands.

Look at the situation as pictured by another student of the labor movement:

"Rich idlers amusing themselves at Newport and Tuxedo; poor workers burying themselves in coal-mines. Young men and women riding across country after a bag that smells like a fox; old men and women picking decayed food out of garbage cans. Lapdogs driving through Central Park to take the air; children stripping tobacco-stems in garrets."

"Thus laying hands on another
To coin his labor and sweat,
Man goes in pawn to his brother
For eternal years of debt."

"The average of 13,152 persons, without home or family, sleeping nightly in police station-houses and pestilent dormitories within the city of New York, offers more momentous subjects for discussion than revision of creeds or enrichment of liturgies."

The Boston *Globe*, analyzing the recent statistics of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau, says:

"The figures simply show that in the employments in which the very lowest wages are paid, women constitute over 70 per cent. of the workers, while in the employments where as high as $20 a week are paid they constitute hardly over 3 per cent. In addition to all this is the humiliating fact that in the same occupations, standing side by side with men, the females are paid less wages for the same work; or, what amounts to the same thing, a woman of twenty years or upwards is made to work side by side with a boy of ten at the same wages. Women are compelled, then, to fill most of the cheap places, and paid less wages for the same work at that. We have no hesitation in saying that this is an indefensible injustice, and one so gross as to shame civilization. Why do legislators sit passively under such discriminations of sex in the matter of work and wages? Simply because they know that the women carry no votes, and that mere sentiment, however just, can neither seat nor unseat a politician. But it will not always be thus."

Now there can be no more constant source of moral deterioration among women than these figures furnish, and, as a worker in the difficult reform which has social virtue as its outcome, I have been driven to believe that the core of Edward Bellamy's plan, which is the industrial disenthralment of women, is the way out of the wilderness for woman, and through her for mankind. With the weapons of toil in her firm, kind, and skilful hand, she can dub her brother man "a knight of the new chivalry," and otherwise she cannot.

General Booth, in "Darkest England," declares that London has over thirty thousand absolutely homeless poor, who sleep out of doors the year around, and whose only difference of grade is that some have a newspaper between them and the damp paving-stones, while most have not. There are in Great Britain, he says, a hundred thousand prostitutes and half a million drunkards, and one person in every five in London dies in the work-house, the hospital, or the lunatic asylum.

Jacob Riis, in his new book, entitled "How the Other Half Lives," portrays the life of "the submerged tenth" in New York City after a fashion that makes us wonder if our Siberian exile petitions ought not to be duplicated to the governor of the proud Empire State of our own land. Now, in face of all this abomination of desolation, I believe that when, for every child born into the world, the problems of food and clothing, fuel and shelter are already and for evermore settled questions (the great, kind, foresighted human family, as a corporate firm of We, Us & Company, having arranged all that as an offset to the labor of that child when old enough to work), then will have come the very first fair chance ever yet given for the survival of the fittest in true character and highest conquest.

Talk about community of interest as fatal to the noblest ambitions! The fact is that thus alone will Godlike ambitions be enkindled,—"the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love of love."

Almost every one has inspiration and purpose, but the difference in the light shed from these two flames brought down from heaven is in different persons like that between a firefly and a star. One sparkles for a moment in the darkness, but guides nowhere, because its chief characteristic is its intermittence; the other lends the illumination of its mild, unchanging light to every eye that is lifted to behold it. So will it be in the age of brotherhood that shall kill out this age of gold; unhampered by the everlasting grind of necessities that we have in common with the brute creation, the steady, shining star of a purpose great as the soul and sacred as immortality shall light up every life of man.

In his book entitled "Society as I Have Found It," Ward McAllister, that astounding product of democratic institutions, describes a banquet at Delmonico's at which seventy-two of the famous "Four Hundred" sat down, and which cost ten thousand dollars. He says, "The table, covered with flowers, seemed like the abode of fairies." . . . "The wines were perfect. Blue Seal Johannisberg flowed like water; incomparable 1848 claret, superb Burgundies, and amber-colored Madeira added to the intoxicating effect of the scene." . . . "Lovely women's eyes sparkled with delight at the beauty of their surroundings, and I felt that the fair being who sat next me would have graced Alexander's feast."

The recent promenade concert given by the junior class of Yale College is estimated by good judges to have cost, including costumes specially prepared for it, thirty thousand dollars at the lowest estimate. Not a few of those young students paid eight hundred to one thousand dollars as his share for the evening, and yet Yale is a Christian college, not given up to pomps and vanities like poor McAllister and his set,—ere long to be upset, thank heaven, and made to feel the contempt of all true patriots and devotees of Christianity in action.

Poor Jeannie at Lucknow heard "The Campbells are coming," but the "poor woman of the nineteenth century" (as a witty Frenchman called her) begins to sing, "The Farmers are coming, hurrah, hurrah!" She begins to hear much earnest talk about "applied Christianity," and, though the great Rip Van Winkle mass of conservatives still rejoice that they have a "safe preacher" who gives them "a pure Gospel," there is now and then a restless remnant in every congregation that asks, with a bright man whose words I lately read, if "you do not hear pure mathematics when one repeats to you the elements of Euclid? But what would you say—in this age of Mount Cenis Tunnels and Suez Canals, and microscopes and spectroscopes, of turbine wheels, and dynamos, and quadruple-expansion engines—what would you say of the teacher of

physics who gave you no application of mathematics that Euclid had not expounded, and talked of no details with which Euclid was not equally familiar?"

Those who do not want "reform radicalism preached in their meeting-house" these days, remind me of the dear old prohibition pastor who was taken to task by his deacons after morning service with the words: "Didn't you know that we got you here to preach the Gospel?" "Oh, yes, I know all about it," stoutly replied the preacher, "and a nice, sweet, pretty little pill you'd like me to make of it, but I propose to preach every-day religion as I understand it." And he then and there proceeded to exhort after a fashion that might thus be paraphrased:

> "Out from the hearthstone the children fair
> Pass from the breath of a mother's prayer;
> Shall a *father's vote* on the crowded street
> Consent to the snare for their thoughtless feet?"

Does anybody suppose that if Amelia S. Quinton, Alice Fletcher, and Elaine Goodale had been given power over our bewildered Indians of the plains,—that pitiful remnant of a race, cut down as ruthlessly as the forests of the Adirondacks,—this winter's tragedy would have crimsoned our military records?

The whole *rationale* of women's place in finance and politics is set forth in the remark of a Knight of Labor, who, referring to an undesirable locality, said, "It's not a fit place for a woman," and the quick reply of a comrade, "Then it's time for women to go down there and *make it fit.*"

For true as when she spoke them are these words of a maiden in classic times:

"I like our Latin word for man, which equally includes your sex and mine; for in all things the highest and the most enduring, I am as much a man as you are." And well might she have added: "In all things the most holy and pure, it should be your highest aim to be just as much a woman as am I."

A philosopher has said (he was the father of Louisa M. Alcott) that individualism grows behind the ears, personality over the eyes. To me the distinction seems a good one, and I could wish that in all our woman's work we might insist on the motherly, the social, the unifying power of personality with its gracious instinct of otherhood rather than on individualism with selfhood as its everlasting and colossal shadow.

The many-sided woman question has invaded all realms, even to those where crowns are worn. Never before in history were so many of the world's chief rulers women. Victoria of England has been for fifty-three years queen of the greatest nation on earth except our own. Spain has its queen regent; Holland its queen regent and princess royal; Hawaii a

queen; Madagascar another queen; and it seems but yesterday since the Republic of Brazil was ruled by the princess regent, who abolished slavery.

In all the line of English history only two epochs have received a gracious name, and they are the two when great queens reigned,—the "Elizabethan" and the "Victorian" ages. Besides them, we have affectionate mention of "the good Queen Anne, whom God defended." So far as I have learned, there is nothing analogous to this in the reign of any English king. Surely these facts have high significance in helping to work out a solution of the mightiest problem of our time,—woman in government.

DRESS REFORM.

But be it remembered that until woman comes to her kingdom physically she will never really come at all. Created to be well and strong and beautiful, she long ago "sacrificed her constitution, and has ever since been living on her by-laws." She has made of herself an hour-glass, whose sands of life pass quickly by. She has walked when she should have run, sat when she should have walked, reclined when she should have sat. She has allowed herself to become a mere lay-figure upon which any hump or hoop or farthingale could be fastened that fashion-mongers chose; and ofttimes her head is a mere rotary ball upon which milliners may let perch whatever they please,—be it bird of paradise or beast or creeping thing. She has bedraggled her senseless long skirts in whatever combination of filth the street presented, submitting to a motion the most awkward and degrading known to the entire animal kingdom, for nature has endowed all others that carry trains and trails with the power of lifting them without turning in their tracks, but a fashionable woman pays lowliest obeisance to what follows in her own wake; and, as she does so, cuts the most grotesque figure outside a jumping-jack. She is a creature born to the beauty and freedom of Diana, but she is swathed by her skirts, splintered by her stays, bandaged by her tight waist, and pinioned by her sleeves until—alas, that I should live to say it!—a trussed turkey or a spitted goose are her most appropriate emblems.

A lady reporter tells us that she had the curiosity to ask the weight of a bead-trimmed suit, and found it greater than the maximum weight carried by soldiers in our late war, "including accoutrements, ammunition, and all." She reports the present situation as follows: "No pockets, no free use of the lower limbs for her who is 'in style,' and 'they say' that skirts are to be lengthened,—already they must touch the floor,—that trains are coming back, and—perhaps—hoops!" In conclusion, this sensible woman suggests that "a committee of our most capable and honored sisters be chosen and instructed to give us a costume for walking and for working."

To my mind, this is an altogether reasonable plan, and I wish we might appoint that committee at this Council, giving it a few instructions, to which I would gratuitously contribute the following: "Arrange for and build the dress around *one dozen pockets.*"

The catalogue of our crimes as the dry-goods class of creation is, however, less tragically true to-day than it was yesterday.

A spasm of sense has embellished the features of the average fashion-plate; Dr. Jaeger's flannels have helped to equalize the circulation; Mrs. Bates, of Boston, and other good women have introduced reform in underwear; Dr. Stockham has written Tokology; Mrs. Annie Jenness Miller has united the æsthetics to the ethics of costuming, and it has actually become fashionable to use dumb-bells and take fencing lessons! More than this, the limp, the shuffle, the slide, and the hop are passing out, and women are positively learning to walk as a fashionable accomplishment. Most gracious of all, the Princess of Wales has recently sent word to the clothes deformers of the human form and bedeckers of the human cranium, that no dress or bonnet trimmed with the desiccated remains of birds will be hereafter accepted by herself or daughters.

While I should be sorry to give undue prominence here to the work of the White Ribbon Army, it would be wrong not to include among the influences that tend towards woman's physical emancipation the well-nigh universal introduction into our public schools of hygienic teaching in all grades from the primary to the senior high school. Of this Mrs. Hunt, of Boston, the heroine of that bloodless war for better blood, will tell you more.

Following up this splendid advantage, we decided, at our recent convention in Atlanta, to attempt securing laws that shall require the regular teaching of gymnastics in all grades of the public school, with reference to health of body and grace of attitude and movement. Mrs. Frances J. Leiter, of Mansfield, Ohio, superintends this department of work, and we are planning to help head off the craniologic aviary business by organizing a Department of Mercy that will, through common school and other teaching, make it unthinkable, a generation hence, that any woman could poise upon her skull a martyred warbler of the upper air.

In view of the impending mania for long skirts, and the settled distemper of bodices abbreviated at the wrong terminus, it strikes me as desirable that the Council should utter a deliverance in favor of a sensible, modest, tasteful, business costume for busy women.

But the better is always likely to be the greatest enemy of the best, and in her happy deliverance from the worst in dress the average woman is too much inclined to let well enough alone. For this reason it is more than ever the duty of leaders to point their sisters onward along the brightly opening way, not by precept alone, but by method and plan.

SCIENTIFIC MOTHERHOOD.

It has been wisely remarked by one of our college-bred women, that in no particular has the average woman failed more signally than in keeping her own little ones alive. Four hundred thousand babies annually breathe their first and last in the United States,—being either so poorly endowed with vital powers or so inadequately nourished and cared for that they cannot longer survive. One-third of all the children born depart this life before they reach five years of age. In Oriental countries they swarm thick as flies, and the existence of woman (a being so impure that her husband begs pardon for referring to his wife at all) is tolerated only because she is a necessary prerequisite to the transformation of a man into a father of sons. It thus appears that exclusive devotion to maternity has not resulted in the best good of woman or the highest development of humanity. In those same Oriental countries, the Anglo-Saxon race has conquered the native and holds it in subjection, though outnumbered at the rate of twenty-five hundred to one. Possibly if fewer children were born, and of a better quality, it might be a blessing to all concerned. The fabled lioness which, on being twitted of her small family, replied, proudly, eyeing her beautiful whelp, "It is true I have one only, but that one will grow up to be a lion," may, for aught we know, prefigure the woman of the future. It seems to be a law of nature that quantity decreases as quality improves. But, be this as it may, we are going to have ere long a scientific motherhood. Children will be born of set purpose and will cut their teeth according to a plan. The empirical maxims and old wives' fables of the nursery will give way to the hard-earned results of scientific investigation. The best work of the mother will be intelligently done, on the bases of heredity, pre-natal influence, and devout obedience to the laws of health. Doctors, diet and dress, ventilation, sleep, and exercise will constitute her "council of physicians." Says Mrs. Frances Fisher Wood, a Vassar graduate and a successful mother:

"Old-fashioned New England mothers are often extolled as an ideal type of motherhood, while college-bred women are the staple of popular newspaper jokes in their alleged futile attempts to care for their offspring. Yet statistics show that the mortality among native New England stock exceeds that of any other part in the United States, and the proportion of deaths to births is constantly increasing; while among the ridiculed college women nine-tenths of their children survive infancy, a record which I believe has never been equalled in any country or age since statistics furnished the data for such deductions.

"I assert that a woman scientifically educated can in three hours be taught more about the care of infants than another, intellectually untrained, can learn from personal experience in a lifetime. In other occupations less exacting than a mother's we allow experience alone to count for little."

* * * * * * * * * * *

"This college-bred mother supports her theory by offering for inspection a healthy, happy specimen of scientific babyhood, who rapturously greets this scientific woman as 'ma-ma.' Happy child of a happy mother! In his twenty-two months of babyhood he has never known the torture of colic, goes to sleep at night and never wakens until morning, cuts his teeth with as little ceremony and suffering as a small kitten, contracts no infantile diseases, succumbs to no infantile disorders, and does not periodically upset the equilibrium of the entire family at intervals of two or three days by being mysteriously 'cross,' after the manner of unscientific baby tyrants. The diet of this enviable baby consists now of water that has been boiled, milk that has been sterilized, oatmeal, baked apples, and stock-soup."

The aforementioned college-bred woman is a trustee of Barnard, a contributor to the press, a public speaker on various educational and scientific subjects, a woman of place in society, and, as has been declared already, a model homemaker. What would you more? The woman question has no higher, nobler outcome; and once again is wisdom "justified of her children."

The word "obey" has been weeded out of the popular marriage service, and mutuality of right and privilege is the key-note of modern marriage. The barbarous dictum, "husband and wife are one and that one is the husband," has been consigned to the limbo whence it came. Because language is one of life's greatest educators, let us now attack the phrase, "man and wife" (still standing in the odor of sanctity upon the pages of Catholic and Episcopal ritual), because it incarnates all the serfdom of woman's past, exaggerates sex out of its due subordination to personality, and is false to the facts in the case. For when the minister pronounced a pair of beings "man and wife," he declared that one to be man who was one always; but when he declared the woman wife, he disclosed between them a relationship of which husband is the only reputable expression on the man's part. He might as properly pronounce them man and woman; there would be at least the sign of equality in that equation, and he might with precisely as much propriety, both actual and grammatical, declare them to be "woman and husband." Language is the greatest of educators, and woman the readiest user of language. Let us, then, help the nation to set its grammatical house in order, for, stabbed by our steel pens, such phrases as the foregoing shall die and not live.

Every home should be a school of statesmanship. No home is orderly and harmonious that is not controlled by statesmen. It has been truly said that the real difference between great and little men is that the little man sees littleness in everything and the great man sees greatness in everything. And it is supremely true of the true mother that the ineffable greatness of her character and calling lends a dignity to the smallest of her deeds and so magnifies the sacredness of home and country in her children's eyes that they cannot fail to be supremely loyal to God and home and native land.

Women are patriots; they are born so. Take a recent illustration. That delightful paper, *The Youth's Companion*, offered a prize for the best essay on the patriotic influence of the American flag when raised over public schools. The competitors were not to receive money or any personal advantage, but the prize was to be a fine flag for the school-house. The result is thirty girls won the prize in as many States and Territories, and eighteen boys in as many more. If the prize had been skates or bicycles, doubtless the count would have been different. But the mother of the future, who better knows what the State is and helps to make its laws, will impart to her children a devotion to their country stronger even than that which now binds them to their own homes.

Some women have a supreme genius for motherhood, and history points them out by their results. One of these was Mary, the mother of Washington, to whose sacred memory a long-neglected monument is being raised near Frederick, Virginia. Surely I cannot do less than refer to this enterprise and call upon all members of this Council, by their love and loyalty to their own mothers, to have a share in this reverent and patriotic undertaking.* And I do this with added pleasure because the necessary funds are being raised by my honored friend and Virginia's illustrious daughter, Mrs. Mary Virginia Terhune (Marion Harland).

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

The Columbian Exposition should witness the convening of a World's Council of Women, the invitation to which would naturally be given by this Council, and the preparations for which should begin without delay. Pre-eminently now, as probably in the future, the world of philanthropy and reform is woman's world; in the last analysis this includes church and state, hence her world is a double star of the first magnitude. Perhaps, ultimately, the realm of force material will be man's special field, and the realm of forces spiritual will be woman's; he will be the more æsthetic, she the more ethical. Such a congress should emphasize this tendency, while by no means ignoring the handcraft which will best balance statecraft, and which promises within a century to be as much the badge of good breeding as its absence has been in the artificial century now passing.

Doubtless the Columbian Exposition will illustrate the motherly work of women for humanity by means of day nurseries and kindergartens, where the little ones can be left while their natural protectors visit the great show; emergency hospitals, with women physicians and nurses in attendance; homes for the friendless and the stranger; resting-places for

* Send contributions to Mrs. Mary Virginia Terhune (Marion Harland), Pompton, New Jersey.

the aged and the weak; temperance cafés, coffee-houses, and reading-rooms; exhibits of hygienic food and drink; booths where White Cross literature and pledges will be furnished; halls where physical culture is taught and illustrated, hygienic garments and dress-reform patterns given away as a missionary measure to the benighted wasp-waistlings of the throng; parlors spacious and beautiful in which capable women who have given their lives to the subject shall set forth the methods of the King's Daughters, the College Settlements, the Working Girls' Clubs, the Department of Mercy, the Women's Christian Temperance Unions. We shall have halls, I hope, in which mothers' meetings can be held, and conferences upon every subject, whereby the health, the holiness and happiness of the home people can be increased by putting the expert knowledge of one at the service of the many.

It was well said by the young Emperor of Germany, a few weeks since, that "the manifestation of love to one's neighbor is the duty of the state as a public community." And I rejoice to believe that the first World's Exposition wherein women have been called by the Government to bear an official part will witness in a thousand beautiful and practical ways the manifestation of this love.

As we all know the mighty moulding power of great examples on young hearts, I have wished that in a sort of Valhalla of great women we might group portraits, statues, and personal souvenirs of the best and brightest who have lived. In the midst I would place Joan of Arc, who heard and heeded evermore the Heavenly Voice, and who, although she was the central figure on bloody battle-fields, illustrated in face, form, and character the highest virtues of humanity. Beside the peasant girl of France should stand the statue of Queen Isabella, who shares with Columbus the fame of the New World's discovery. But for eyes American there will be a group in marble, present now to the loving eyes of my imagination, where, around the saintly face of our glorified Lucretia Mott, shall be gathered those faithful allies, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and those loyal co-workers, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, and Lucy Stone. Let us all work to make this vision a reality.

WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union purposes holding its first convention in Tremont Temple, Boston, November 13–18, 1891, at which time we expect to welcome home our W. C. T. U. missionary, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt, who for eight years has been unwinding the white ribbon around the world, and who in this great mission will by that time have worked in every civilized country of the globe. We also anticipate for that meeting the presence of Lady Henry Somerset, of England,

president of the British Women's Temperance Association, accompanied by that most peaceable yet invincible of radicals, Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith. At our National Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, last November, we had six hundred delegates and visitors from a distance. We expect a number even greater at the next, which will be held in connection with the World's W. C. T. U. Convention just referred to. As an outcome of these meetings, we hope to start upon their journey around the world a commission of women in charge of our great petition, which asks the governments of all nations to separate themselves from all legal complicity with the trade in opium and alcohol. I brought to the last Council our petition to Congress for the protection of women, which was responded to by raising the age of consent from ——— to sixteen years. So to this Council, without asking any action on your part, I have come with the world's petition against alcohol and opium; another, in which the signers agree not to wear as trimmings the bodies or plumage of birds; and a third, asking the Russian Government to show mercy to the exiles of Siberia.

The petitions are printed, and I wish that any friend of humanity would circulate and return them to the ladies whose names are attached to them respectively.

WOMEN IN RELIGION.

The world seems to me like one great heart, the warmth of whose growing love and the rhythm of whose steady pulse is a dynamic power, through which God works to make all things new and pure and brotherly; that you and I and all of us are like ruddy drops floating through this same heart, and that we shall contribute our full fraction to this divine outworking is our united purpose and prayer.

> "O mighty River, strong, eternal Will,
> Wherein the streams of human good and ill
> Are onward swept, conflicting, to the sea,
> The world is safe because it floats in Thee."

The whole rationale of Christianity has been put in thirteen words by a poet, as follows:

> "In the heart of man a cry;
> In the heart of God, supply."

The cuttle-fish darkens all the water about it, and then, for aught we know, complains that it cannot see. So is a darkened soul in the midst of a Christian community or family. It does not seem to realize that what it complains of is but the reflex of its own code and the outcome of its own conduct. Such a spirit is like a convex or a concave mirror, distorting every face and form that it reflects. Its words are evermore like those of the old Scotch crone who said, "Of guid people I ken but twa, Sandy and me, and I'm nae sae sure aboot Sandy."

There is a deep lesson in the popularity of Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett's story of "Little Lord Fauntleroy." The fact that theatre-goers have swarmed to witness its representation is one of the most encouraging indications of recent annals, for the recital is but a sermon on the famous text given by Charles Dickens, "God bless us every one," and an illustration of the sacred Bible words, "A little child shall lead them."

Some people take their religion on the square, and others on the bias. It is largely a question of nature and environment. For those who do not like the square, the bias is perhaps good. Doubtless both have the root of the matter in them if both go at it with a true purpose towards God and man, but the seamless robe is the only true ideal. Folks with a new notion in their heads remind me of a bird flying about with a straw in its bill. One would think that but one swallow made a summer, and one straw would build a nest. But the truth is, the nest of the human soul has not only many a straw in it, but twigs, bits of leaves, scarlet threads and downy shreds of wool, and much besides. It has taken all the ages of light, of evolution, of nature, and of the great human heart itself to built the nest called Christianity, in which so many souls have found a home. And is it finished? Not by any means. There shall come other builders, and in other swift-revolving ages man shall be still the student of God and of humanity. Yea, and in other worlds, up towards which we gaze as they gleam in the great sky, the building will go on. But we are all like children. When we find anything new, some pretty leaf, some bright scrap of a thread, we are delighted with it, and want every one to see it; we think this the latest, the last, the best. The white sunlight of God's truth falls through the stained-glass window of the human brain and takes the color of our individuality.

"The logic of new theories," says the physiologist Carpenter, "is very differently estimated by different individuals, all equally desirous of arriving at the truth, according to their conformity or disaccordance with that *aggregate of preformed opinion* which has grown up in the mind of each. For just as we try whether a new piece of furniture which is offered us does or does not fit into a certain recess in our apartment, and accept or decline it accordingly, so we try a new proposition which is offered to our mental acceptance. If it at once fits into some recess in our fabric of thought, we give our assent to it by admitting it to its appropriate place. Otherwise, the mind automatically rejects it."

If only we could remember this and so cherish that charity, one towards another, which can alone warm and embellish human life, that would be a long stride forward in all that relates to every-day Christianity.

For myself, I am a firm believer that the Way, the Truth, and the

Life are shown to us in Christianity, and that God was manifes
flesh. But the differences come in when we would apply this tran
declaration, not to the facts of every-day life, but to the theories t
call creeds.

One of the crucial tests of our Christianity is this: What
"hired girl" think about our kind of religion? Never was noble
paid to character than when the body-servant of Alexander H.
said of him, as he wept beside the statesman's bier, "Mas'r A
kinder to dogs than most folks is to men." Dress parade is on
every-day doing quite another, and the verdict of the most depe
our circle is the final verdict as to whether we are magnificent or

Silence concerning injuries and contradictions is the most sm
blanket that ever was woven or spun. Ill-will and the manifestati
of never yet caused anybody to do the thing we wished to have
But good-will can conquer anything. No man will double up hi
fight the atmosphere. The sweet south wind of Love is the only
that never lost a battle. "Love is the Holy Ghost within, and
unpardonable sin." George Eliot said that sometimes it wou
natural to show good-will to others, and as instinctive, as it is t
one's hand for help when one is falling.

Some one has recently said, "After all, religion is the only in
thing." How interesting, let the late census reveal. We are
formed that the people of these United States disagree so widely
concepts of God and immortality, duty and destiny, reward and
ment, that they are separated by their creeds into one hundred
distinct groups. Now add to this the various creeds into wh
church-members are separated, from the Positivists of Londo
"Temple" was once wittily described as including "three person
God," to the Spiritualists, whose name is legion. Then enum
orthodox, the heterodox, and the "New Departure men" in ea
of scientists, and, returning to the church groups, take account o
that almost every one of the one hundred and forty has as m
defined shades of opinion as the fearful and wonderful "Establish
England classed as "High," "Broad," and "Low" church (
tudinarians, Latitudinarians, and Platitudinarians"), and what
totality of beliefs and unbeliefs is this into which the destructiv
of the incomplete masculine mind has brought us! Surely th
broth is as bad as the witch's ever can be, in politics as a sub
government and ecclesiasticism as a substitute for religion.

I rejoice that women reformers do not claim the ability t
the existing condition of things in church and state, but their
is that if the analytic method of man's thought and the synth
of woman's were combined, humanity would then have broug

tithes into the storehouse of the common good, and God would pour us out the blessing that has always been potential but could only become actual when the conditions were supplied that lie in the changeless nature of things.

For—

> "The sweet persuasion of His voice
> Respects our sanctity of will;
> He giveth day—we have our choice
> To walk in darkness still."

In all this discord about religious theory there has been very little controversy about religious living. Cardinal Newman and General Booth, Terence V. Powderly, the master workman, and William Morris, the poet, Frances Power Cobbe and Margaret Bottome, Lady Henry Somerset and Susan B. Anthony, are all bent on one beautiful result,—they would bring in the brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity; they would hasten the coming upon earth of the kingdom of heaven.

But it is no more true that the kingdom of heaven is within us if we are ever to know anything about that kingdom, than it is true that the kingdom of art must be within us if we are ever to know anything about art. The kingdom of poetry must be within us or we shall know nothing of poets, though they should sing in chorus round about us night and day. The kingdom of language is on every hand to an American who has landed in the heart of Germany, but he can only comprehend that language when he stamps it on the convolutions of his brain and works it into the speaking muscles of his lips. He will know just so much German as he contains himself, and not one word beyond. A person of impure life and unlovely disposition set down in the middle of an earthly or a heavenly paradise would be a stranger and a foreigner, his strongest desire being to get away.

How helpful is this scientific method in teaching us about character, and how little we have understood its majestic simplicity! As a working hypothesis, no age and no race of men can ever go beyond Christ's simple dictum, "*The kingdom of heaven is within you.*" It cometh not by observation; that is, it cometh not suddenly, but little by little, imperceptibly, as one particle after another is added to one's stature, so by every thought, word, and deed the kingdom of heaven has woven its warp and woof, wrought out its wonderful beauty in our own breasts. All pure habits, all health and sanity of brain, make for the kingdom of heaven. The steady pulse, the calm and quiet thought, the splendid equipoise of will, the patient industry that forges right straight on and cannot be abashed or turned aside, these make for the kingdom of heaven. The helpful hand outstretched to whatsoever beside us may crawl or creep, or cling or climb, is a hand whose very motion is part of the dynamic forces of the

kingdom of heaven. The spirit of God, by its divine alchemy, w
us to transform, to re-create, to vivify our entire being, in spiri
and body, until we ourselves incarnate a little section of the king
heaven.

The deepest billows are away out at sea; they never come in
shore. These waves are like the years of God. Upon the shore
our earthly life come the waves of the swift years; they bound an
and are no more. But far out upon eternity's bosom are the great
endless waves that make the years of God; they never strike up
shores of time. In all the flurry and the foam about us, let us b
heads to listen to the great anthem of that far-off sea, for our li
shall soon be cradled there: we are but building here, the launch
far off, and then the boundless ocean of the years of God.

It is supremely pleasant to believe that we women-workers are
concerning immortality. Of late the mode of that mystical estat
to me thus:

Who knows but that as the visible, changeful, perishing myself
of atoms, in their analysis too minute to be cognized by the
and yet really present always, the imperishable myself may be
material infinitely finer than that which makes up atoms, and may
interstices between them? To illustrate: Suppose you fill a bo
marbles and then pour in as many shot as can be received amon
marbles, for there is space still remaining; then suppose you pour
which fills the still remaining space between the shot. By c
materials carefully graded as to dimensions you can fill the bowl
times over after it had seemed to be already full, and you would
by occupying the interstitial spaces. The real and enduring per
may be this moment as present as it ever will be in any world
present, however, only to consciousness. That mysterious powe
lates and holds the atoms together. Indeed it furnishes their only c
force. We call it life and cannot trace it by means of the coars
that are adapted to the atomic, the perceptible self. Now, some
interstitial self drops the atomic self and goes its way. The p
cohesion, the vital force, being gone, the spiritual body (for it is
more nor less) having separated itself from the material, the lat
return to its original ingredients, and this is all there is of death,

An English princess looked so sad one night, at a royal banq
a courtier asked her why. She answered that at the bottom
goblet that she drained she saw the word "Eternity." That w
the bottom of all our goblets. We eat, we drink, we die,
death, the judgment; and the judgment, we believe, will be
accord with the deeds done in the body, whether they be good c
they be evil.

"There is no unbelief:
Whoever plants a seed beneath the sod
And waits to see it push away the clod
Trusts he in God.
Whoever sees 'neath winter's fields of snow
The smiling harvest of the future grow
God's power must know.

"The heart that looks on when loved eyelids close
And dares to live though life is full of woes
God's comfort knows.
There is no unbelief, and day by day
And night, unconsciously,
The heart lives by the faith the lips deny.
God knoweth why."

In the sixteenth century lived St. Philip de Neri. Among his favorite pupils was a young man who became a student in a famous Italian university. One day he went with joyful voice to tell the saint of his successes and his hopes. "I have entered the law school," he said, "and am delighted with my studies, in which I make great progress." The calm, gentle eyes of the saint regarded him fixedly as he asked, "Very well, my son, when you have finished the course, what do you mean to do then?" "Take my degree," was the answer, with an eager smile. "And then?" quietly queried the saint. "Why, I shall attract great notice by my learning, by my eloquence, by my acuteness, and gain a great reputation." Gently sounded the deep voice of Saint Philip as he asked, "And then?" "Why, I shall be promoted to great office and grow rich," answered his pupil, with enthusiasm. "And then?" repeated the saint. "Well, then I shall marry and settle in life honorably and win great dignity and distinction." "And then?" came the question once more. The young man was puzzled. "Then—why, then I shall die." In his deep, sweet voice Saint Philip said, "And then?" The young man made no answer, but cast his glances downward, and hurriedly went away.

The same question is still in full force; we, too, are swiftly carried onward with definite achievements in view, and when we have won all that we sought, back comes the deep, rolling surge of eternity's question, "And then?" Its answer waits; but that answer is as sure as God.

Still I turn with gladness to the life that now is and give to you, in parting, those great words of Harriet Martineau's great brother James, who, focussing his mind upon the problem of the passing hour, has said:

"Of nothing can we be more sure than this: that, if we cannot sanctify our present lot, we could sanctify no other. Our heaven and our Almighty Father are here or nowhere. The obstructions of that lot are given for us to heave away by the concurrent touch of a holy spirit and the labor of a strenuous will; its gloom is for us to tint with some celestial light; its mysteries are for our worship, its sorrows for our trust, its perils

for our courage, its temptations for our faith. Soldiers of the cross, it is not for us, but for our Leader and our Lord, to choose the field; it is ours, taking the station which he assigns, to make it the field of truth and honor, though it be the field of death."

Yea verily, and of every true heart that beats in this Council of Women it shall be said, when we are gone, as gracious Wordsworth said of glorious Toussaint L'Overture:

"Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee,—air, earth, and skies;
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

THE PRESIDENT. The general subject of this session is "Charities and Philanthropies." The first on the list is "State Control and Social Care of the Dependent Classes: Woman's Share in that Work," by Anna Garlin Spencer, of Providence, Rhode Island.

STATE CONTROL AND SOCIAL CARE OF THE VICIOUS AND DEPENDENT CLASSES: WOMAN'S SHARE IN THE WORK.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER. The present Industrial Order of civilization, which has so recently and for such a limited area superseded the old military organization of society, has brought into existence a wholly new Social Science. The old order aimed at making a few leaders and commanders great and powerful and wise. The new order has necessary regard to the development of the many, yes, to that of each one! Hence we see to-day in the nations of most modern spirit and of freeest action a vast number of appliances, charitable, reformatory, and educational, for the personal care and development of even the least and lowest of human beings. It is clearly seen to-day by the truly enlightened of the most advanced nations that the good of all includes of necessity the good of each; that "humanity must be developed in its *one* if bettered in its many." The old doctrine of religion, "it is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these least should perish," is now translated in terms of science in the statement that "the solidarity of the race makes necessary for social well-being the best possible culture of each individual."

Hence no wise person doubts to-day that the State, and Society in general, have duties in respect to the vicious and dependent classes. What those duties are in any given case is still question for dispute; and the line of cleavage and jointure between the State's share of care-taking and that which should be left to private effort and decision is still very wavering and uncertain.

It requires some temerity on my part to attempt to outline and analyze conditions, and to systematize, even in theory, the varied and almost

innumerable departments of wholly unrelated State and Social activity the direction noted. But, having felt the personal need of settling up a "working theory" of classification and co-ordination of parts in t care of defective classes, I am sure that something of the same kind needed by other students of social problems. And I am sure, also, that I am all wrong or very erroneous in my conclusions in this matter, setting them in order for others to examine and refute or accept will b little help towards clearness of vision.

With a religious atmosphere most protestant and individualistic; w a political system most free and independent; with a mentally criti and morally utilitarian temper of life, ready as never before to try exp iments in all directions; and with a vast area of country which make common centre of enlightenment and influence impossible; we suf here in America from lack of system, from lack of an accepted and gr uated order of plan and execution in all our work. When William Harris in the interest of free-school education gathered statistics showi the wide divergence between schools professedly of the same grade, a Primary or Intermediate School in one place being very different fr that in another place of the same name,—he began the moveme towards that more uniform arrangement which would give clear disti tions and a sound basis for comparison. Just so, in the wide field reformatory and benevolent work, the patient student and recorder of t present confused and confusing tangle of overlapping and not-meeti of sporadic and unclassified and unrelated elements in that reformat and benevolent work, is serving the organizing period of the future, ho ever wide of the mark his own theory of organization may be. It with that conviction that I dare attempt to outline the legitimate field the State, and that for Society at large, in the Care of Vicious and I pendent Classes. At present the State and Society are doing one and t same thing, at one and the same place, in one and the same way for t most part. And, moreover, hardly a social charity but is duplicated working, method, or aim, or all three, and often many times over, in o community.

Now, economy of force as well as perfection of method and breac and clearness of insight depend upon analysis of parts and a systema arrangement of the whole benevolent work of a community. A hence this hap-hazard individualistic way of starting and managing ch ities is both foolish and extravagant. What is needed first and forem in this rich and generous country of ours is wisdom in humanitari work: a clearly defined, well-thought-out *system* in the administration charity.

Our plain questions, then, must be, first, What are the Dependent a Morally-Defective Classes? and, second, What is the State's business

respect to the care of these classes? and, third, What can be done better in this direction by the non-legal and more flexible methods of Society?

The classes needing State control or Social care, or both, are, in broad outline, these:

1st. The Criminal Class: those persons who have disobeyed the laws of the community by an encroachment upon others' rights in a more or less flagrant manner.

2d. The Vicious Class: those persons who have lost self-control, or failed to attain it, and have become the victims of animal propensities and bodily passions.

3d. The Pauper Class: those adult and ordinarily able-bodied persons who lack power to supply themselves with the physical necessities of life.

4th. The Insane: those persons bereft of reason, and so incapable of caring for themselves.

5th. The Sick and Aged Poor: those persons who are able to maintain themselves with such difficulty in health and in full working power, that illness or advanced years oblige them to receive aid.

6th. The Idiotic and Feeble-Minded: those persons with utterly defective natural organization.

7th. The Deaf-Mute and Blind: those persons lacking in some important sense, whose education and treatment, therefore, must be peculiar and different from the ordinary.

8th. Dependent Children: those who by reason of death or wrongdoing or poverty of parents must be fathered and mothered by society at large.

And 9th. To this list must be added those needing *partial* or *temporary aid* towards a wholesome and healthful living: those not criminals nor settled in vicious habits, but from the class of exposed youth out of which criminals and drunkards and licentious persons are made; those not wholly pauperized, but often in need of pecuniary relief; those not insane nor idiotic nor utterly deficient, but yet under the average in mental and physical power, and so helpless to resist misfortunes and unable to successfully struggle for themselves in an age of pitiless competition.

Now, I shall ask you to travel backward through this list, and at every step attempt to outline with me the relative duties of the State, and of Society at large, in the care and elevation of these more or less unfortunate classes. And as we attempt this task let us accept as guides two fundamental principles of judgment: principles which, I believe, have the sanction of the "consensus of the competent" in Social Science. These principles are, first, Classes requiring *absolute control and complete care* are proper and often necessary subjects for the State provisions. And,

second, Classes needing individual and partial treatment, a personal uplift towards self-development, require the most *flexible of social appliances.* Of course it goes without saying that the State cannot be as flexible and as individual in its treatment of a defective human being as a society of private persons, or as personal effort may be. And for further light upon our path, as we travel back through our list of unfortunates and incapables, let us accept the idea that for the best care of many persons there must be a union of State Control and Social Uplift. Human nature can never be classified in hard and fast lines. And hence classes, however well defined, merge into one another in such fashion that differing remedial agencies adapted to each must be correlated for efficient service. But let us believe it is possible and desirable that the State and Society should do supplementary rather than identical work.

Our ninth Class includes all those who "need a helping hand" to steady them on their feet, "a helping hand" in pecuniary and in educational ways, and as an "external conscience." This great class, while neither physically, mentally, nor morally defective in such manner as would justify the State in assuming control over them, is yet the seed-plot and nursery of all the other eight classes I have named. Hence, if our philanthropy is ever to become radical and scientific in race-culture, some agency must deal with this class in vital and regenerative fashion. So far as help to individuals of this class is concerned, especially pecuniary help, I have no hesitation in saying that the State should never give it. The history of the Poor Law in Great Britain is the pitiful tale of State pauperization of the poor; a tale of social demoralization through legal charity; and workers in charity best fitted to speak with authority in this matter agree with the Hon. Seth Low, in saying "that no temporary, out-door relief should be administered by public officials." The class on the edge of pauperism should be helped generously, but always towards *self-help.* And hence the aid given them should be *personal,* with knowledge of their individual conditions, in secrecy, in *friendliness,* in pursuance of a well-thought-out plan by which their permanent money-independence may be secured. And hence the charity of any community, when it touches the physical needs of those poor not yet pauperized, should be in charge of the wisest and kindliest men and women, and administered on the plan of the "Organized or Associated Charities" now happily becoming common in this country. Around this centre should be allied a vast and varied enginery of moral reform, of educational appliance for adults and youth, and of innocent amusement and health-giving sport, all made vitally effective for *personal uplift* by the life-blood of *personal service.* If you want to help any human being personally you must give *yourself* with your gift. Institutions may widely affect individual character from without; but no defective or weak nature

is modelled from within towards the true self-development save by "love, the soul of soul." The need of every single human being whom we have massed in Class nine is *more individual power*. That can come to them only *as adults* through lines of individual training and association by means of true and genuine sympathy between themselves and their teachers and helpers. And this is a personal and not a State agency. But has the State therefore no duty towards this great class? It has, I believe, a vast and varied duty of *prevention*. Education is the universal solvent of social problems, and education we have agreed here in America is the business of the State. And the radical, the only *scientific* treatment of the problems involved in this great class of moral, mental, and physical weaklings is this: absolutely compulsory education, of the best and completest sort possible, for all children, at least until the age of twelve years. Society must deal with this class of partial incapables when it exists. It is the business of the State as well as of Society to see to it that such a class be greatly reduced in numbers, and as far as possible *educated out of existence* in the future.

The eighth Class, that of Dependent Children, requires also a union of State and Society work for its care. But it is high time that we learned how to make the State and Society supplement each other in this most important service rather than as now overlap and even run into and hinder each other. What is our *ideal?* What should be our standard respecting the care of dependent children? The best and wisest workers in this line tell us it should be this: to give the dependent child as far and as soon as possible a *setting in family life*. Not any institution, however well endowed or managed, can give the child true preparation for life, hence the placing-out and boarding-out system so completely adopted in Pennsylvania is the best yet achieved. But Dependent children are of three sorts: those with vicious or criminal tendencies; those with specially defective organizations; and those mentally, morally, and physically normal. The latter should be at once placed in simple homes by such a system as Pennsylvania has developed more perfectly than other States, and experience seems to indicate that this can be done *provided* there is sufficient devotion and tact and enlightenment in the community. It takes heroic service, however, and *personal* service. It is not work which can be done by fiat of law solely or public speech and resolution. It is Society actually fathering and mothering every dependent child, and it is not easy to be a true father or mother to one's own child, still less to the children of strangers. Yet this the wise and good tell us *must be done* if unfortunate child-life is to be rightly sheltered and trained. But the State may properly, must eventually, I believe, care, at least educationally, for all children of defective organizations; those included in Classes 7th and 6th,—viz., the Deaf-Mute and Blind, and the Idiotic and Feeble-

Minded. And as the needs of these classes are special, the treatment ma be *class*-treatment, specialized to suit that need. The institutions fc the care and education of these unfortunate classes were all originally th outgrowth of private devotion and generosity. But the more enlightene States have one by one adopted the partial or entire support of such ir stitutions, and there seems no reason on the one side why the State shoul not do this, nor on the other side why, when the State does it on a broa and sufficient scale, private benevolence should tax itself for the same so of service.

Class 5th we called that of the Sick and Aged Poor. I do not believ that people of naturally average powers will always be found in this clas I look hopefully forward to an improvement of our industrial conditior which shall widen that now fearfully scant margin between independer and honest poverty and the obligation to receive charity. I cannot b lieve that we shall always see such inequalities in the distribution c wealth as now; such inequalities as make sickness and old age a terror t hard-working, thrifty, and good people of average mental and industri power. But now we have in every community people who with all the striving and self-denial through youth and middle life cannot lay by mucl if anything, for the "rainy day" of illness or old age. For such, i illness, the Hospital stands open, and what a blessed opportunity it is c may be! I can see nothing but good in the State taking this provisio of the General Hospital into its hands, as is now already the case in larg areas of our country. Yet private enterprise, either in the line of mi istry to some special need, as that of convalescence or incurable disease, c in the line of specialties in medical study, still adds to the State pr vision helps in this line. It seems to me, although I speak with defe ence to those of opposite opinion,—it seems to me that there is too muc overlapping and too little systematic adjustment and supplementary servic in this line. The large Hospital offers unparalleled and priceless oppo tunities for study to the physician, and if we could to a great extent dive the State Hospitals of their *charity* aspect it would be better both for th poorer patients and for medical science. If the more well-to-do classes use more frequently the Hospital appliances, boarding at the institution, would be better for them often and for the institution always. And the is no reason why the State and general Hospital *Management* should nc include all the specialties of treatment or help needed by any disease person, rich or poor, provided the Hospital Cottage system were use instead of the one huge building as now. The one gross evil of Stat Hospitals is the very one that is not remedied but rather increased b multiplying private hospitals. This evil is the *sacrifice of the patient medical study*. There are many reckless if not cruel experiments, man unnecessary hurts to sensitive, modest feeling, many wrong uses of th

Hospital opportunity for study, which are possible in a State Hospital *only* because such Hospitals are used chiefly for the very poor.

But that which one of us, if wise as well as tender, would not allow done to our dearest friend, we have no right to allow done to the poorest man or woman. If the State properly assumes so much of the medical care of the poorer classes as it does already, I believe that progress in justice and social well-being along this line must come by the State gradually absorbing the present Society efforts in the same direction, and by an increasing number of well-to-do and influential people patronizing the State Hospitals. Already I think there is movement along both these lines.

And all that has been said under this head applies perhaps even more to the care of the Insane. The history of medical science is one story of mankind's growth from the horrors of superstition to the sane and cheering dependence upon natural law. And the change in the treatment of the insane from the old cruel exorcisms of evil spirits to the modern hospital is a vast stride in progress. "We can" and do "minister to a mind diseased" to-day, and the insane pauper patient in our worst managed State institution is to-day more humanely treated than the best-born and richest madman of the olden time ever was! Yet here and now we find great prejudice against and fear of State institutions of this sort, —prejudice and fear justified too often by mismanagement. Yet we find also in State Insane Asylums some of the ablest and most devoted men and women, and *in time*, I believe, these State Institutions will rival if not excel any private hospitals of the kind, because of their opportunities of minute classification and the publicity of their management. For the Aged Poor there are to-day many agencies of relief and of full care. The State Almshouses and the private Homes for women and men, and for old married couples, all are proof that poverty in old age is dealt with tenderly. The private Homes have been rendered necessary by the improper association in the present Almshouse system of refined and coarse, of good and bad, of educated and ignorant. Here again the "Cottage system," which, needed already imperatively in both State Hospitals and Almshouses, would obviate this great difficulty by allowing skilful classification, and might in time make the State Institutions do service of the best and wisest sort for *all* of this class not cared for in *really* private homes—but in private Institutions called Homes. And I am led to the belief by the fact that where a State secures a first-class management and a generous and enlightened public policy in this direction, the "better classes," so called, send their afflicted friends to the State Hospital, and find in the *possibilities of more minute classification in a large* Institution great gain to the patient. The publicity of management of such Institutions is also an advantage in allaying fear of secret cruelty and wrong. At

present, however, a *sensitive* patient, yet conscious of much going on about him, shrinks from or is hurt by the common idea that an occupant of a *State* Hospital of this sort is an object of *charity*. This is the only objection one need have to-day to placing a friend in a well-managed State Institution, and that would be outgrown if only more well-to-do people used the State Hospitals; and if more well-to-do people did use them they *would* be well managed. I have no hesitation in saying that any evil and cruelty which is found in any State Hospital of any sort is there because *only* the friendless and poor are there; just as in a city where every one decently well-off sends his children to a private school, the public schools are poorly cared for, and it is impossible to rouse the people to a vital interest in them.

I come now to the third, the Pauper Class: and by this I mean those settled or fixed in that condition; not, of course, those in need of temporary aid, whom we have discussed before. Here we come for the first time in our considerations to a class of which the State should, in my opinion, take full charge. "The State," says a wise teacher, "is Society in position to coerce." The pauper class is a class needing control, and often demanding coercion. Pauperism that is *willing* and *hopeless dependence* is a condition of moral disease needing social "quarantine," needing enforced labor, needing restraint of vagrant impulses, needing perpetual supervision to prevent its spread in society. Dr. Dugdale, in his terrible and true story of "Margaret, the Mother of Criminals," has shown us what streams of crime and vice may flow from one pauper life; the seven generations of thieves, prostitutes, and drunkards traced from this one inmate of an almshouse proving how real pauperism takes away the power of resistance to evil. Temporary out-door relief for those under a pecuniary cloud is the proper work of private and society agencies, we can now be agreed. The care of those who are, strictly speaking, *paupers*,—not the sick or aged poor who have in health and strength maintained themselves honestly and independently, but those neither too old nor too young to work, whose flabby and sodden natures lack all stamina of self-helpfulness,—the care of these, *paupers* in the true sense of the word, is the legitimate function of the State. It is coming to be realized that this is the case; our best social charity work now will not take such upon its lists of beneficiaries. But there is yet need of general enlightenment upon this question. People are yet too ready to aid such people; to be cheated by them as they pass from one church to another, from one section of the city to another, staying only long enough to exhaust the thoughtless giving of each. The true Charity Organization of any city discovers, outlines, and righteously and permanently provides for this class. It is as great an unkindness, as it is monstrously unscientific, to allow such paupers to "bring forth seed after their own kind,"

"to multiply and increase" a generally demoralized condition of human nature which can never be fit for independent life. The adult pauper, then, should be quarantined in State Institutions under full State control until his flabby nature has been stiffened into the elements of human force. The children of pauper families should be *treated*, educationally and industrially, to ends of pecuniary and moral independence.

The second, the Vicious Class, must now be considered. At the outstart I must say that this class has now in even our most enlightened communities no adequate control and no really wise care. The whole management of the confirmed inebriates and prostitutes who make up this class is to-day both wrong and stupid. The victim of drink or licentiousness is both a *wrong-doer* and a *diseased person*. Laws now recognize him as the former but not as the latter, and our laws further declare his or her offence a minor criminality. Hence the confirmed inebriate and the known prostitute get only a short sentence of imprisonment at the State workhouse or county jail even for the last of many commitments. I have seen gray-haired women "sent up" to the workhouse for a year, the longest sentence possible in their State, on the *fortieth* commitment. I have seen old drunkards "returned" as many times and for as short periods for their offence. Now, I do not take the ground, as many do, that drunkenness is *only* a disease. It is at some time of its early stages a personal vice for which the offender is morally accountable. But it becomes a disease and must be treated as one. For several years the ablest students of inebriety, Dr. Crothers, Dr. Blodgett, Dr. Lucy Hall, and others, in this country and abroad, have been urging the establishment of "workhouse-hospitals," institutions which shall be a cross between a prison, an industrial institution, and an insane or medical hospital. Massachusetts is the first State, so far as I know, to move in that direction. It is intended in the Massachusetts Inebriate Asylum, soon to be built, to furnish a place to which a confirmed drunkard, not guilty of other misdemeanors, can be committed for a longer term than is possible under the present laws, and where he can be treated hygienically and morally with reference to his *cure*, and where his board can be paid by friends when they are able to do so, and where he may be kept at work for the maintenance of himself and family. He is to be under the strict surveillance of the Insane Hospital, yet with all his surroundings favorable to his peculiar form of mental and moral disorder, and not those arranged for the restraint of ordinary mania. He is to be appealed to as a free man *morally*, yet treated by skilled nurses for the cure of those physical conditions by which the drink-habit enslaves him. *This* is rational; any other treatment of the drunkard is foolishness and injurious to society. The need may be, I think soon will be, seen to extend further than these new Massachusetts provisions. The need is an "inde-

terminate sentence" of commitment for a minority of drunkards, those real dipsomaniacs who should be placed in such an institution *for life*, or until quite surely *cured*. More than "the two years" suggested by the leaders of this new departure in Massachusetts is needed in obstinate cases to effect a cure. And there are those who should never go out save on "tickets of leave," who may be recalled at the request of friends at a moment's notice, when the old mania shows signs of returning. There is absolute ruin to family life, there is every sort of social danger in leaving at large one drunkard who has passed the stage of self-control; and when a man or woman has by the testimony of family or friends reached the stage of confirmed habit in this regard, he or she should be put away out of the ordinary walks of life until *cured*. And where the testimony of friends is lacking, a certain number of commitments for drunkenness, say five at the outside, should mark the extreme limit of the present temporary and superficial restraint. The prison for women at Sherborn, Massachusetts, does this radical work of treatment for many women through its admirable management and the "indeterminate sentence" which gives the prison authorities a firm hold of the inmate for five years. Elmira Prison, in New York, does this same humane and wise work for many young men by means of its same "indeterminate sentence." But for entrance into both these institutions there must be something beside the drink-habit,—some criminal, or disorderly, or wanton conduct to justify arrest and sentence. What is needed is just such legal control and medical care for those who are guilty of nothing but confirmed drunkenness. "One old toper," it is said, "will corrupt a neighborhood;" one old woman tippler of hospitable nature will poison the sources of life for many young children by leading their mothers astray; and the horrible sights which our streets witness from these frequent arrests of "common drunkards" are among the worst possible things for child-life. Hence, on all grounds,—for the good of the erring patient, for the safety and welfare of family life, for the checking of the drink-habit contagion, and for the decency of our streets, to say nothing of the saving of money in legal processes and State care,—the Inebriate Asylum is a necessity, and is *the* next step in an enlightened penology.

And I dare to plead here also for similar care for the prostitute. All bodily vices work bodily ruin. All sins of appetite lead to irresponsible manias of appetite. The "common prostitute," like the "common drunkard," is a diseased person. Not merely in the ordinary way of speaking, as she may often be, the victim of some loathsome contagious disorder resulting from her way of life, but diseased in will, in organic moral structure, in nervous condition, and so rendered incapable of self-control. One such person in a community, left at large, treated as a "misdemeanant," to oft-repeated short sentences, coming out of prison

each time, as she almost always does, more and more ...lignant in her feeling against respectable society, left at large to seduce and to corrupt, is a moral pestilence. There is a monstrous doctrine which proposes to treat her as a "necessary evil," and "control" social impurity by directing her medical inspection, while still leaving her free to ply her horrible trade. I will not now argue the question of the cruelty and injustice of such treatment for her, while her partner in vice goes unscathed, to scatter equally wide, as he does, the seeds of physical disease; but considering herself alone, I dare to say that anything more irrational, more barbarous, more childishly stupid than our present treatment of the woman of confirmed licentious habit is unknown. She is a *sinner*, and she is also a *sick patient*, precisely like her inebriate brother. She is very often an inebriate, too, like him, in all need of medical as well as moral treatment. And she has another horrible appetite, another abnormal craving, added to this, one which only slow and radical changes in her physical condition can cure. She needs an asylum, not one managed by private charity alone, from which she can escape just when the agony of craving is upon her and she most needs protection from herself, but a place of absolute legal restraint, which shall also be a skilfully-managed hospital and a cheerful school of employment. And she needs in the community an atmosphere of pitiful understanding of her condition, an enlightened knowledge of the physiological and pathological conditions of her struggling life, an atmosphere that shall demand and secure for her this treatment. Doubtless all I have said applies to some licentious persons of the other sex, but the only *class* of licentious persons known in law and sufficiently specialized in society to be treated as a class is that of women of known immoral character. I plead for such that for their own sakes, and for the cleansing of society as well, they be placed in institutions specially arranged for their *cure* rather than *their punishment*, and that they be committed to such institutions for a sufficiently long period to insure a cure when possible, and for *life*, if that is impossible. We are tender of the homicidal maniac, as well as regardful of society, when we put him where he cannot kill when he feels like it. We should be tender to the incurable prostitute, as well as just to social purity, to put her where she could not longer grovel in misery to slay innocence. We err in our present diagnosis of her condition; we forget her body is diseased, as well as her soul, when we expect her reformation by will-power only. The "grace of God" cannot save her without the wisdom of God is learned and obeyed in her care. What she needs is *absolute control* and the most skilful hospital treatment, as well as the most wise and loving personal uplift. Selfishness will not be taken from the white brows of unspotted womanhood until each poorest and most sinful of these our sisters is so protected and treated.

It needs but a word regarding the first, the Criminal Class. All agree that "the State, Society in position to coerce," must deal with this class. The only thing is to grow wise and humane in this State control. The history of penology is an history of the beginnings of a new science of human *re*-formation. The old watchword of prison-life, not yet outgrown, alas, in many quarters, was "punishment for evil-doing." The new watchword, which is perhaps pronounced more perfectly in Elmira Prison, New York, than in any other place on earth, is "education out of evil-doing." The old policy was vindictive, the new policy is remedial and humane. It is a long stride, a glorious testimony to human nature's power of growth. But we have no time for its recital now.

We must hasten to speak briefly of Woman's Share in the Work of State Control and Social Care for the Classes we have enumerated.

It is agreed on all hands that private charity is and should be largely in the hands of women. The tendency, indeed, in America is to leave all social humanitarian work to women's care and management. I deprecate this. It is not well for "woman to be alone."

The most delicate questions of the relation of the individual to the State, the most far-reaching problems of social condition and action, are bound up in the Administration of Charity. And the wisdom of both men and women is needed for their solution. That one-sided emphasis on various points of morals which their one-sided training of the past has given to each, must be united for the best results of social regeneration. And for the same reasons that men should make haste to assume their rightful share in social and private charity, at least as counsellors, women should be at once admitted to full powers of control and service in State Institutions.

The best students of Charities and Reforms agree that it is imperatively needed that women should be not only subordinate attendants but physicians and superintendents of women's wards in Insane and General Hospitals, with full power of command. These students agree also that women of known character and ability should have authoritative charge of women's departments in Almshouses, Jails, Prisons, Reform-schools, and all State Institutions for the children of all varieties of age and need. In short, those most familiar with the whole subject of our consideration generally believe that wherever there is one human being, especially wherever there is one woman or one child, needing moral, mental, or physical *care*, there should be wise and good and efficient women to represent "with full powers" the mother-element in human beneficence.

It remains only to say one closing word, and that word upon the need that women as a whole should recognize the mighty fact that "for such an hour as this have they come into their kingdom of free powers and of independent service." For the first time the value and dignity of each

human life is coming to be understood. For the first time we are learning that "all must live for each" as well as "each for all." For the first time, also, woman is summoned by her own personal demand of growth and by the social conditions of the era to assume her place as an independent factor in social forces. What is the deep inner meaning of this coincidence? To me it is this:

Man's organizing power, developed through long ages of warfare and tyrannous rule, has at last conquered a foothold for true human growth; and hence for men "Education" is the word of the Time Spirit, "Education" for each and for all. And on the other side woman's power of personal care for individual life, developed through long ages of motherhood's holy passion and of pathetic self-effacement for family ends, has at last revealed the true end and method of race-culture,—viz., the perfected single life.

And so to-day these wedded powers are *consciously one* as never before, one in an eager and an equal uplook and outlook into the new Social Ideal of a Perfected Humanity.

> "For He that buildeth high and wise,
> Nor pauseth in His plan,"

hath ordained that woman, out of whose heart the home was builded, shall respond to man's new call for a better society with freer and grander nurture of *single lives*. "A woman," says Frances Power Cobbe, "is a human being of the mother sex."

To-day woman is fast becoming recognized as a human being, valuable and powerful in herself alone, in order, above all things else, that her mother-power of protection and of training may grow majestic and unselfish enough to encircle with blessing the weakness and need of the world!

THE PRESIDENT. We will now listen to Mrs. Fannie B. Ames, of Boston,—"Care of Defective Children." She was President of the Society organized to remove children from almshouses, when the law was passed in 1882 forbidding them to be longer inmates of these institutions.

CARE OF DEFECTIVE CHILDREN.

FANNY B. AMES. As the women of each household must chiefly care for the children of the household, so must the women of America care for the children of America; the women of each local community care for the children of that community; and especially for such children as will otherwise be unmothered and thrown upon that human agency which is least motherly, least competent, and least considerate for such a function, —the civil law or the public authority.

This fact makes the peculiar pertinency of my address to you, for I am to tell how, in one instance, and it is only one among many in our country, the women of a community managed a perplexing social problem in a wise, humane, and economical manner.

The plan will commend itself to all who have had experience in how hard it is to really benefit the community by the best-conceived plans of charity; to those even whose experience has led them to distrust charity as a method of social reform; to whom all schemes of charity seem like rescue boats that prowl about beneath a hole in the bridge, to pick up, now and then, one of the unfortunates that drop through, while all the while the hole in the bridge goes unguarded and unmended. It will readily be seen that if the generous and saving forces of society be chiefly devoted to rescue, there can be little attention paid to prevention. The truth is, that most persons engaged in charity work find themselves so absorbed in fitting out and manning their rescue boats, then of keeping them properly caulked, repaired, and officered, that they have no time or strength to question why this awful dropping into the waters of misery goes on forever. Their toil is heroic, absorbing, and seemingly never-ending. Practically, we become fatalists and pessimists. We accept this pauperism—not *poverty* (which may be temporary, honorable, and a nourisher of virtues)—as a necessary and legitimate part of the order of society. "The poor ye have always with you" is interpreted to mean, "The pauper, the betrayed, the idle, the vicious, the degraded, are a part of natural and divine order, and ye shall always have them for the exercise of your benevolence and philanthropy."

I have been told how the manager of a newly-established orphanage, who was showing a visitor over the beautifully-appointed building which as yet had two or three inmates where provision had been made for hundreds, said, with effusion, "We have yet only these few children, but we hope the Lord will prosper us." This was, of course, only an awkward slip; for her real hope was that the Lord would permit them to shelter those who would come to need their care. But in charity the estimate of success is too often based on the *number of cases*, instead of on the decrease of the *need*.

I read of the establishment of a home for intemperate women just opened, and the added comment, "Boston should be proud of such an institution." "*Not unless it is empty*," said a girl of fifteen who was listening.

The Swiss government, to rid the country of a pernicious insect that preyed on the crops, offered a certain premium for every bushel brought to quarters. Immediately a lively trade and importation from other countries set in, and Switzerland was likely to have a larger crop of grasshoppers than anything else.

One is curiously reminded of this in reading any history of charity. There have been pity and sympathy, money, doles, endowments, poor farms, beggars' colonies; but no perceptible advance has been made until within a few years, when some small attention has been given to applying our resources to the chief object,—the *prevention* of further pauperism and the direct restoration of those already pauperized, combined with a thorough distrust of alms-giving, and a clearer and clearer perception that a *friend* who can help him to help himself is most needed by the poor man.

If one would realize how difficult it is to lift the dependent into permanent well-being by mere dole-giving, let him see the futility of our methods among the Indians, where rations have been substituted for justice; where a governmental system of pauperization has on one hand exaggerated all the worst characteristics of barbarism,—revenge, brutality, and laziness,—and on the other has nourished the more loathsome characteristics of a pseudo-civilization,—greed, trickery, tyranny, licentiousness, and wolfishness.

Better than all doles, or alms, or endowments, or shelters is all that is done for education, social order, and morality. Good sewerage, good water, schools, libraries, improved politics, purer religion, and restriction on greed, monopolies, and immoral traffic, will do more than orphanages, homes for the intemperate or the deserted. The stress of our effort, then, should be to bring about this good social order. When money is needed,—and it is needed for these purposes quite as much as for charity,—it should not be grudged; when personal sacrifice and work are required, they should be given; and we ought to be pledged to all measures of public purification and uplifting that react on private welfare and private character.

And when we are still called to deal with want and misfortune, we should look carefully to it that we do not work an incurable want and chronic dependence; that all our efforts should be to make the dependent independent; that in trying to help one class we do not harm another; that we treat men, women, and children as individuals and not as belonging in masses and squads; that we do not give up, for any temporary and specious appearance of order, the great and precious gains of history,—personal independence, the sacredness of marriage, and the family tie.

In general, we must reprobate, as false in theory and evil in practice, all schemes of feeding men at public expense; of taking natural obligations from shoulders where they legitimately belong; all rending of natural ties and breaking up of families, even of very poor specimens, for, except in rare and extreme instances, we should be destroying the germ of virtue which is often only inert when it appears to be dead.

The tendencies of human nature will work with any truly wise attempt

to make men independent or virtuous. If our particular scheme fails, we ought to doubt its fitness for the work. Even the comparatively small class who belong in special disciplinary institutions,—such as the convict, the incorrigible, the feeble-minded,—all are affected by right methods; and results once never dreamed of are now reached in cure and reform by more profound study and application of wise means.

When Mr. Brockway, of the Elmira, N.Y., State Reformatory, was first asked how many of his prisoners he thought incorrigible, he answered, "Twenty per cent." Later—a year later, I think it was—he said he would amend his statement and say five per cent. Later still, he said he would take back that estimate, for, though a few held out, he thought some method might be found to reach this "remnant."

But the most hopeful work of rescue, by its very nature, *prevention*, is work among children. This is true, whether done for the rich or poor,—the pampered child of the millionaire, who is often leading an "exposed" life, or the neglected child of the lowest grade of society. Yet, if misdirected, it may be the worst, the most permanently evil. The only standard by which to measure it is, "Is this just what I should judge to be wise and well for my own child under the same conditions? Does it promise the best chance for a natural development of the child's faculties, so as to nourish self-respect and lead to self-support, with no taint of pauperism? Does it restore the child's natural relations to society and give it the fairest chances to recover from the misfortune that has thrust it on public charity?"

Any scheme that ignores these considerations cannot be good for Ginx's baby any more than for my child or yours.

This kind of charity, then, should help to create a new and better social order, where pauperism shall not be made chronic nor institutionalized nor wrought into the social fabric.

And this preliminary view will help us to understand the mental attitude and moral animus of several women who began, about ten years ago, to care for deserted children in the city of Philadelphia.

They hesitated to adopt the usual method of congregating numbers in institutions, because long and patient observation had made them sceptical as to the good effect of institution-life upon children or upon the community. They sought to do their work with a clear and steady regard for the permanent interests both of the child and of society, with minimum of machinery and maximum of economy. Most of them, being workers in the organized charities and students of the best methods at home and abroad, were also active participators in nearly every benevolent enterprise in the community. Some of them were, by appointment of the Governor of the State, visitors of Public Institutions for the State Board of Charities, and, as such, had unusual opportunities to visit,

inspect, and compare all child-caring institutions. These inside observations of methods and results had left them with a profound distrust of the fitness of such institutions for training children for self-direction and the most useful living, and with the conviction that the result on the society most in contact with such institutions was equally open to question. Besides which, they found nearly every institution over-crowded, often stretched beyond its legal capacity, begging for more money to add wings or to erect new buildings. The memory of those crowded rooms, those listless, mechanical squadrons of boys and girls, living with no vitalizing, individual relations to any human being; owning not even a plaything or garment except in common; with every movement regulated by rules and orders which are necessary where large numbers are brought together, —even had there been no other reason, would have made them pause before enlisting other recruits in this army of juvenile dependents. They could not yield to the fascination of the tidy rows of white cots down the long dormitories; they saw nothing charming in the regularity of the little platoon that marched to and fro, or sat in well-disciplined silence at the long dining-table, where a plate and mug and well-measured (and abundant) assignment of bread and meat became to each child a symbol of the uninspiring monotony of daily life. There was also bread enough and to spare: there was order and system; but something essential was left out, something necessary to child-life, the want of which threatened the very mind and heart. It was the need of a real home—of special human relations. In the words of Mrs. Calkins, long a State visitor in Massachusetts of children put into families from the State Primary School at Monson, "A poor home is better than an institution, though the better the home the better for the child." I have more than once had my dress plucked by a little hand, and the question put with yearning earnestness, "Say, lady, do you know where my folks are?"

The Children's Aid work of Pennsylvania was first organized by the simple free service of two or three women who utilized their country acquaintances about Philadelphia in finding homes for and exercising guardianship over children sent out from the city.

Later it became a well-knit scheme with a State charter, ramifying all over most of the State, and now embracing forty-seven counties, having moved over eleven hundred children from the almshouses and placed them in private families, with the authority of the Directors of the Poor in those counties, who use the Society as their agent in finding the homes and in visiting the children, while the board, where board is paid, is borne by the county treasury. Besides these "County children," the Society has cared for several hundred waifs and strays before any brand of pauperism could reach them. The objects of the Children's Aid Society are these:

1. The boarding of dependent children in separate family homes (the board being paid).

2. The removal of children from the almshouses of the State of Pennsylvania.

3. The preservation of the tie between mother and child, and the enforcing of the responsibility of motherhood, by placing mothers at service with their children.

4. The training in private families of juvenile delinquents of tender years, who would otherwise be committed to penal institutions.

The working apparatus includes a central office in Philadelphia, with the corps of necessary assistants, whose whole time is employed in receiving, in looking into the fitness of homes, and in following up each case with visitation and correspondence; in arousing the different counties to the needs of their dependent children; in keeping in touch with other child-caring societies, with Guardians of the Poor, vagrant detectives, magistrates' courts, and all the municipal and State machinery that touches the children of the State.

The Society serves also as a Bureau of Information, where any person may at any time be advised how to care for any form of child-need. Here is a list of children's hospitals, capacity, present condition, conditions of entrance, etc., of every orphanage, asylum, or home.

The Board of Managers is divided into committees, each having definite duties, and the office work is supervised and supplemented by them.

The Committee on Decision of Cases gives direct attention to each case and determines its adjustment. Frequently the child is brought before it for more thorough and sympathetic acquaintance.

Another Committee on State Work is occupied with its paid official in forming local committees in the different counties outside of Philadelphia. In some of these counties these local committees take the form of Independent Children's Aid Societies. In others they work under and report to the central office.

The agricultural counties have been chiefly chosen for the putting out of children, but the passage in 1882 of a law forbidding the retention in almshouses of children between the ages of two and sixteen has led to the trial of this family method in nearly all counties where there was an almshouse.

The Local Committees have generally been formed by some representative of the Society who has first learned some facts about the pauper or uncared-for children of the particular county, and who has also secured the addresses of the best citizens and most public-spirited women; then at a public meeting and in parlor, school-house, hall, or church, the company thus brought together hears, for the first time, it may be, the real situation and number of destitute and dependent children in their county.

The objects and methods of the Society are then presented, and the formation of a Local Committee is left to the meeting. No subject could rouse more interest or enthusiasm, or meet with readier response. These committees generally comprise the most influential women of the county, and frequently they meet no warmer co-operation than from the Guardians of the Poor. The influence of such work has generally proved as beneficial to the community as it is effective for good to the children. The country districts are not over-crowded with charity work as cities are; the well-disposed can give time and work even where there is little money to give.

The Central Office has brought to the attention of the new visitors the best literature of modern charity, and the work is an education to those engaged.

These local committees find homes, report on their fitness, visit the children, and hold their stated meetings of consultation. They report to the Philadelphia office, and act, besides, as agents in putting out children from the city itself. A reciprocal service passes from county to county. When it is desirable to put a child away from its immediate neighborhood, one county can help another.

Such is an outline of the plan. The framework is not in buildings or in lands, but in human heads and hearts and hands. The moral plant is the community. There never was a time when such a scheme could count more surely on co-operation. The vast sums of money that go to the founding of orphanages, asylums, and homes show how deeply people are touched by the needs of perishing little ones. The new scheme was no whim or mere theory. It has proved practicable beyond the dream of its most ardent friend.

There have, of course, been exceptions. Prejudice and obstinate adherence to old ideas closed mind and heart against all appeals, and made people unwilling to see money spent in paying board-bills, though there was no scruple in sinking thousands of dollars in buildings and lands and for the founding of institutions which always threaten to become children's almshouses.

For the infants or children too young to be of any service, and for all children undesirable in the sense of needing unusual care or patience, a moderate board is paid.

Many farmers' families were glad to take such. What the children ate was not greatly missed, while the ready money, though small in amount, made the child a coveted member of the family and ensured good care and consideration. I will not put the *chief* motive as mercenary. The board-money was often, of course, the determining motive, but the child received what money could not pay for,—the good offices of a home given without stint or grudge.

Many grown-up daughters in country families found glad occupation, as well as a source of income, in caring for the little strays and waifs of the Children's Aid Society. In one Quaker neighborhood, thirty families were ready to take such children, and I need not say that they were among the choice homes of a people renowned for well-ordered and beautiful domestic life.

Though the country was generally considered the best place for children, frequently good places were found in the city. This was often the case with weakly children needing medical care conveniently at hand.

One of the most surprising things was the number of homes that opened to receive children, generally with no charge for board. The record book, containing a list of persons applying for children, with their recommendations and the verifications of county or other visitors, soon contained the names of more of such families than there were children to fill the applications.

The success of the placing-out system will always depend on the effort to find homes of a satisfactory character, a consideration that can never be made secondary.

Advertising, inquiries started by dependable persons in each locality, with a judicious sifting, would ensure success from the very start.

To have *built* homes would have required thousands of dollars and no end of public begging and agitation. It was not without labor and expenditure that these homes were *found*. But when found how much more satisfactory!

Miss Elizabeth Putnam, of the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, asks: "Has no one of you placed a child in a country family, in perhaps a somewhat untidy farm-house, and then in a short time received a postal saying, 'We have ten chickens, eleven cows, and fourteen pigs, and I feed the chickens, and we have a cat, and there is a baby?' And a little later, 'the baby likes me, it comes to me from its mother.'" She adds emphatically, "The family is *the* place for children!"

Mrs. Senior, of England, testifies that children brought up in the pauper unions of England are incredibly cramped in their experience, set no proper value on clothes, and acquire no sense of responsibility; while a girl brought up at home in a thrifty family would count the cost of things.

The testimony of two gentlemen in Philadelphia, both experienced as heads of great industrial enterprises, is that institution boys are generally the least desirable apprentices. They have been dulled in faculty by not having been exercised in the use of themselves in small ways; have marched in platoons; done everything in squads; have had all the particulars of life arranged for them, and as a consequence they wait for some one else to arrange every piece of work, and are never ready for

emergencies nor able to "take hold." This might be accounted for by supposing that such children belong to a class of inferiorly endowed, were it not that as fair a proportion of the children placed in families by the Children's Aid as of the ordinary children of the community, soon prove to be as capable where placed in the same developing environment.

I claim for the family-plan distinct advantages.

1. The risks of moral and physical contamination are lessened. To bring together numbers who already have impressions of evil or of misfortune or of dependence will deepen those impressions and confirm those moral weaknesses. The direst misfortune that can happen to a child is to have the pauper habit of mind early formed, and the stamp can be more easily made in childhood than at any other time. "Vagabondage," says Victor Hugo, "begins in childhood." Insidious and evil physical habits pass from one to another like contagion where children are congregated. The risks by fire and by contagious diseases are also greatly increased.

2. My own experience on Boards of Management and as inspector of institutions has convinced me that it is safer to put children in families than into institutions, because abuses are more easily covered up. If a child is abused in an institution, it is generally the case that no one knows anything about it; not even the managers may suspect it or be able to learn the facts. But if it occurs in a private family, somebody in the neighborhood finds it out, the papers ring with it, and a hearty indignation makes such abuse practically impossible again.

3. In the family-plan, the child is more readily put in the way to form normal relations with nature and society. Instead of the atmosphere of a crowded institution, it has, in most cases, pure country air and light, with the range of home, yard, and neighborhood, coming and going to school, church, and Sunday-school, with the presence of landscape and sky. In an institution a child receives food and clothing from some unknown source and feels no sense of responsibility concerning them. In some cases, even the playthings are owned in common, while he is seldom allowed the custody of what is conceded as belonging to him. Where numbers are brought together, this is a part of the order and discipline necessary. It is the barracks system,—necessary for the army, but unnatural even to grown men,—disastrous to children whose faculties need training by indirect rather than direct ways, and for whom God has specially intended the *family*.

4. The massing of children has another evil effect. It disqualifies them for living alone. You know how it is. People who live in great hotels become accustomed to the excitement, and somewhat dependent upon it for their happiness. This effect is vastly more disastrous upon the susceptible minds of children. I am told by a lady of the institution

that the institution children are not so happy when taken to the country as the children of the streets. They do not know how to enjoy themselves, and they miss their usual surroundings. The same testimony comes from private families. Even children taken from the streets adapt themselves to home-life more readily than those who have lived in these children's hotels. In 1882 the State of Pennsylvania passed a law forbidding the retention in the almshouses of the State of children between the ages of two and sixteen years, for a longer period than sixty days, unless such child was an unteachable idiot, an epileptic, a paralytic, or incapable of labor or service. The law permitted one of three things:

(1) To build apart,—several miles away and disconnected in management,—what they called Industrial Homes.

(2) To place the children in existing institutions, or,

(3) To place them in some respectable family, which must be visited in person or by agent not less than once in six months, such agent to report to the Directors of the Poor.

The Children's Aid immediately offered to act as this agent and to perform the duties by law required.

In most of the counties of Pennsylvania this offer was ultimately accepted, and to-day there are auxiliary committees in forty-seven counties, and eleven hundred children have been removed from the almshouses.

The State has been saved many tens of thousands of dollars which would have been worse than thrown away in the purchase of land and the erection of buildings, which would have been fastened upon the community as a perpetual and increasing burden, for the tendency of such institutions is to perpetuate themselves. A crowd of officials become interested in keeping them up, and the shiftless, brutal, and vicious see in them a constant invitation to dependence. One of the first results of the passage of the law of 1882 was the departure, *voluntarily*, from the county almshouses of a large number of parents with their children who had been constant or recurring inmates for years. The horrible effects of the presence of children in almshouses has been told over and over by Mr. Letchworth, of New York, and Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell.

In more than one instance in Pennsylvania, I found three generations, all illegitimate, all born in the almshouse, in one case the grandmother having never been out of it.

Such facts tell. By turning the light of publicity upon the situation, communities have not only been moved to humane interest in the destitute children themselves, but also to a deeper feeling of responsibility for the management of the poor-houses, and for all social duties.

But this was not accomplished without difficulties. The people at large everywhere, especially the best women (and America is full of them,

thank God!), responded to the efforts of the Children's Aid Society with enthusiasm. But in some cases the public officials hung aloof. The laws *permitted* them to build institutions, and there were chances for "jobs" in real-estate; or, they were jealous of any persons not of their county coming to teach them how to care for their children; or, they honestly thought the scheme of finding family homes Quixotic and impracticable.

After a little instructive experience, the Children's Aid grew wise enough not to attempt to work the plan in a new field until they had had a chance to inoculate a number of the most influential people with the new view and way, and then to leave them the carrying out of the scheme.

The most recalcitrant public officials could not resist an awakened public opinion, nor carry out a scheme of bargaining and trade after their constituents got their eyes open.

You are still wondering how the Children's Aid could dispense with an institution as a *receiving*-place—a sort of clearing-house where the child could stay until arrangements could be made for sending it to a more permanent country home. It is easy enough to extemporize all needed accommodations. They found several good private families, generally childless, ready and willing to keep the children while the more permanent plans were being made. These were generally mechanics' families, in one case a policeman's and in another the woman ward-agent of the Organized Charity. Here the child could be carried at any hour of the day or night, receive the needed bath and clothes, kept on hand in the well-stocked closet of the Children's Aid office; and all this for a small, stipulated stipend. How much more sensible, more natural, and more economical than a foundling asylum or so-called home!

It is an important and significant development of the Children's Aid work, and a last application of their plan, that it has proved an effective agency in finding homes for mothers with their babes.

A woman comes into the office asking that her child may be put to board, so as to leave her free to go out to service. Sometimes she is willing to pay its board or a part of it. Often the child is illegitimate, and her chief desire is to be rid of her mark of shame. A short-sighted and unmerciful mercy would agree with her and hasten to take away from her the very condition of her reclaim,—the natural protection from a deeper fall.

I have seen the little dark-eyed woman who acted for an exhausting term as the agent of the Children's Aid, and had the look of an angel of deliverance in her eyes and in her smile, sit down with the poor short-sighted creature who had not awakened to the first throb of motherhood, and show her that no one owed to that poor babe in her lap what she owed to it; that here was one thing God required of her, to keep and watch over her child; that she would some day find her reward in its

love; and that all would come back to her in self-respect and probable provision in her old age; that no crime could be more offensive than to thrust off this care because she found it hard. I have seen days given to this work of bringing round some dull, rebellious girl or woman to a sense of personal obligation; but when so brought, what an upward road of possibly higher life has been entered upon!

"You shall not be without friends," Mrs. Wilson would say. "Stand by your child and we will stand by you. Even if you do not find it easy to get along in the first place, we will help you find another." Then the baby received such tender attentions as showed that a sister-woman looked on it as a precious piece of humanity. As the poor mother looked through tears, her heart would stir with gratified pride, and opened next to the entrance of maternal love.

So it is that the Children's Aid makes much of this fourth object stated in its report:

"The preservation of the tie between mother and child, and the enforcing of the responsibility of motherhood by placing mothers at service *with* their children."

To sum up: the family plan is desirable, then, first,—

For the child's sake; to secure its proper development; to guard it from contamination; to prevent its confirmation in pauperism and dependence; to lessen its danger from disease and abuse.

The family plan is desirable, next,—

For society's sake; that every mutilated member may quickly be restored to normal relations; that the parents who are parents in name only may be held to their duties and lifted to a higher human level; that undue burdens of permanent taxation may not be fastened upon the community.

As a sample of common sense applied to the solving of a difficult public problem in social economics, the Children's Aid work has hardly an equal, and the women who have given to it ten years of hard service of heart and brain and purse deserve a credit they are not likely to receive. As a friend of the movement has said:

"A great building thronged with children is conspicuous; it is evident that something is being done on a large scale; the liberality of founders and patrons seems visibly justified. But this heavenly work is not done 'with observation.' In silence and withdrawal, handle the children one by one, and they vanish even from your own sight. You cannot assemble them for public exhibition, and the simple histories of cases hidden in your office drawers are like the secrets of human hearts."

NOTE.—Dr. Rose Wright Bryan was not present to present her paper on "The Need of Women in Public Institutions."

Our Duty to Dependent Races.

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order is "Our Duty tc Races," Miss Alice C. Fletcher, and we are particularly pro a Fellow of the Museum of the Scientific School of Harvar She is the first bird of a flock.

OUR DUTY TO DEPENDENT RACES.

ALICE C. FLETCHER. We use the term "Dependent I historic sense, and apply it solely to the race problem which people of the United States.

There are in our country a considerable number of peop to two races, each distinct from the other, and from our ow iologically and linguistically, having but a few points in com folk-lore and religious beliefs, which points seem to touc human family. There are therefore gathered under one s the representatives of three diverse races, and their relat other present many phases of study new in the history of nat

In a republic the interests of all citizens are indiss together; the cords of trade, of mutual dependence, ma members but one body; if a portion suffer, all suffer, and republic is to be found only in those provisions which af and prosperity to each one of these many members; so, in the fications for citizenship, race differences should not be called since before the law all should enjoy equal rights "to life, the pursuit of happiness." In theory this is conceded. but h and its prejudices are stronger than the enactments of legisl and the facts of to-day read,—that one's race does augment or chances of enjoying these theoretic and legal rights.

The causes which lie at the root of the feeling of repul mon between individuals of different races cannot be fairly tively stated with our present knowledge of the history of integrity has its claims. It is right that a race should insist allowed to keep on its way towards a full development; th have open to it all knowledge which has been gained by othe it should appropriate its share of the earth's surface, and pe of the world's labor; and that no other race should de shall cease to exist, or pronounce its destruction by war, absorption.

This privilege to exist, to develop, and to prosper we den own, and on the basis of abstract right other races should equal enlargement; but the practical carrying out of this pri one at once into an arena of conflict, as old as man himse issue is yet undecided.

Alice C. Fletch: "Our Duty to Dependent Races." 1891.

Through the thousands of years man has struggled in this little world, battling against nature and his fellow-man, his only effective weapon in either warfare has come from his power of brain-work. By the mastery of thought he has tamed the wild animals and harnessed the useful ones to do his bidding; he has traversed the seas, he has discovered the laws which hold the worlds in poise and control the elements, until he has reached that vantage-point from which he can compel service of that mysterious Nature which generations ago filled his forefathers with vague forebodings and unnamed dread. In this march of progress through the centuries victory has been with the race that was able to develop those mental forces by which man is lifted above his natural self, by which he is enabled to discern the value of work done for the good which lies beyond his present need, or the advantage of the hour. The means towards the acquirement of this power we call Education, that not only fits the mind to control and use its trained and developed faculties, but awakens and disciplines the moral sentiment, the balance-wheel of the great mechanism of man.

Looking back along the ages, it is plainly seen that the white race has led the march of human progress. The religions of the world have sprung from this branch of mankind, the higher arts and sciences are its children, and it is also true that this race has held possession of the best portions of the earth's surface. Grand as are the outlines of this picture, dark shadows lie across its fair coloring, shadows we would gladly see lifted. In the success of one race lies no warrant for the destruction of another. We have reached a stage of culture where those less favored have rightful demands upon us. What shall we from our abundance give to those dependent upon us? The requirement is dual in its nature. It lies first within ourselves, the necessity at the outset of recognizing our ignorance of the races which confront us in our land, what native capacities, what possibilities of latent powers, new conditions, and fostering care might develop in them. We have never yet had an undisturbed or clear medium through which to view these people.

The second part of our duty is the easier; it is external and executive in character.

The negro was brought hither from his native continent to suit our own purposes, and relegated to conditions in which he had no choice, nor was opportunity afforded him to grow natural. Torn up by the roots from his native mental soil, forbidden any culture peculiar to our own civilization, how should we from his stunted growth judge of his real capacity? There was no common ground between him and us on which we could meet and become acquainted. In the course of years, in a manner equally arbitrary, we changed his status without regard to the arrest in his development, the result of our former treatment of him.

We suddenly invested him with citizenship, the responsibilities of which, properly met, tax the best-matured minds.

Out of these daring acts of ours the negro has achieved a remarkable victory. To the careful observer the record of the race during the past thirty years shows that the people have passed from thoughtless toilers to intelligent producers, their crimes have been few, and their forbearance and modesty under their sudden change of fortune have only been equalled by their avidity to acquire knowledge. In providing means for their education, the philanthropists led the way into the hordes of newly-created citizens, and the States where they live have nobly taken up the burden of public schools. Millions have already been expended upon negro education, and the money has yielded rich returns. It is a notable fact that with the growth of education comes the desire and the demand for race integrity. As the race rises through the development of the mental powers of the people, their determination strengthens to make good their place in the nation as Negro-American citizens.

As we recognize within ourselves the fact that hitherto we have of necessity been ignorant of the negro, of what he is, and what he is capable of becoming, we shall be better able to shake off the influence bred of our historic relations with him, and to accord him such help as he needs, and which it is our duty to give. Having ceased to overrate or to underrate the negro, we are prepared to render him that simple justice and consideration we bestow upon the members of our own race. We will seek to stimulate his ideals, to make him feel the advantage of steady training, and to open up for him the way to such training; then we can leave him with a fair chance to win what he can in the great battle of life.

The Indian holds towards us quite different historic relations from those of the negro, but our ignorance of him is equally profound. We have learned to fear the Red Man, and our fears, often well founded, have so disturbed our vision that it is hard to get a sight of the man as he really is. We have fought him with guns, with whiskey, with disease. We have sought to get him out of our way, regardless of the moral consequences to ourselves. He has fought us, and he has bred evil among us by turning loose the lightly-leashed savage elements of our nature,—our greed, our hatred, our contempt. The conduct of white men at home here in the East, contrasted with the conduct of the same men in the West among the Indians, shows how slight a hold our race civilization has over our primitive savagery, how strong the tendency to atavism. We are not yet all civilized; in our onward march the rear column straggles far behind and often reverts to types that exceed in cruelty those we call barbarians. Happily, the better element is now strong enough to prevail, and Christian sentiment finds cordial reinforcement from governmental authority. The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs is whole-hearted

in his efforts to set the upon his land in severalty, to provide him with educational facilities, to open the way for his self-support and entrance into the rights of citizenship.

The landed wealth of the Indian has been his bane; it is now being made as rapidly as possible to serve him in his efforts towards self-maintenance in a new and a difficult future. It is a cause for gratulation that at this crisis so fearless, tireless, and conscientious an officer as General Morgan is at the head of Indian affairs. Let but the public uphold him in his work, and he will soon solve the vexed Indian problem.

Much of the difficulty in dealing with the Indian has arisen out of our profound ignorance of him, and it has been a hard and a slow task to penetrate that ignorance. Much has been done by missionaries from the time of John Eliot to the present, but the great work of enlightenment has come down to the philanthropic of our own day. Much credit should be given the Woman's National Indian Association for their persistent efforts in this direction. Twelve years ago a few earnest practical women determined to attack the public ignorance, and, if it might be, change that ignorance to an enlightened public sentiment working towards justice and humanity. The diluted Christian feeling over the land concentrated and crystallized about these women, and to-day its numbers are among the thousands; there is hardly a State or Territory without its branch society, while in the larger cities and towns their organizations are in full working order. What these women have done cannot be tabulated. They have largely helped to make possible the carrying out of the great work now being done by the government, supplemented by private enterprise.

The Woman's National Indian Association is composed of eight departments:

1st. The Legislative Department. State and local Secretaries and Press Committees all over the country publish facts in the papers, periodicals, and magazines. These are also sent to officials, and when important relevant matters are pending in Congress or elsewhere, careful and concise statements are furnished, and many a victory for the right has been thus quietly gained.

2d. Mission Department. Many of our Indian tribes have never had a mission among them, and it has been the care of this department to collect money to build a house or chapel, to secure requisite land and establish a mission among the people, turning it over to some organized religious body at the earliest day. Several such stations have been already started, and of them four chapels and four cottages have been given up to the management of different denominations.

3d. Home-Building Department. This department makes small loans to Indians desirous of building houses or opening up farms, or to those

in need of a wagon, horses, mowing- or sewing-machine, in fact, for anything that will help to make or keep the home. Some fifty cottages have been erected by Indians with the aid of this department, and the helpfulness that has gone out from it cannot be estimated. Men, women, and children from Alaska to the Gulf of Mexico have felt the kindly touch, and to-day are better and happier and more useful by reason of it.

4th. Department of Special Indian Education. There are many young men and women in different tribes possessing promising talents and desirous of using them to benefit their people. The means towards a higher education are often lacking. This department has educated young people in the law and in medicine, some of whom are already in this field of work, doing brave service.

5th. The Young People's Department. Various bands of children are instructed to lend the might of their little hands to help their elders in the task of uplifting the Indian; the aid which they give, welcome as it is, is of far less moment than the development of character resulting to these little helpers from their interested efforts. In helping others we all help ourselves.

6th. Indian Civilization Department. This department aims to establish labor bureaus on reservations through which work may be obtained at self-supporting wages by returned students and other Indians. Its practical worth is self-evident.

7th. Library Department. Books, periodicals, and papers are sent to returned students and reading-rooms furnished on the reservations.

8th. Hospital Department. The building and equipping of hospitals and the furnishing of trained nurses is in charge of this department.

Such, in brief, is the manner in which this organization of women carries forward its work, timely and practical in all its lines.

The Indian Rights Association and the Boston Indian Citizens' Committee came into existence soon after the Woman's Association. They have made the legal status of the Indian their especial care, maintaining an agent in Washington during a large part of the year and sending others out upon the reservations to report upon the progress there, and by printed or spoken word seeking to interest the public in Indian affairs.

No record of beneficial work for the Indians is complete without reference to Captain R. H. Pratt, the head of the great Carlisle School in Pennsylvania. He has there put in practice the placing of Indian boys and girls in homes, where these children have the benefit of the influence and training of a home, and where they can attend the public schools with the youths of our own race. Untold good has resulted from this plan, and it is one that promises to be extended into other parts of our country from other Indian schools.

Thus there are many avenues opened through which the Indian can be

reached. Public sentiment enlightened by knowledge bids God-speed to those who seek to do the bidding of the awakened moral sense of our people, but money and workers are alike needed more and more to carry on to the end what has been so well begun.

From the Indian comes encouraging response. Out of the two hundred and forty-five thousand nearly one hundred and ninety thousand are entirely self-supporting, and it is only a question of time, a little more time and labor, when the remainder will have learned to gain their living in the new conditions which we have forced upon them. We should never forget that until we took possession of his country the Indian was independent and self-sustaining; that it is within a generation or two that he has met and conquered a changed support under entirely new circumstances, brought upon him by a strange people speaking a strange language and pressing upon him in the mean time on all sides with a terrific force.

There is another fact we should always bear in mind, that the rations issued to some Indian tribes are not gifts from us to them, but are furnished in fulfilment of contracts drawn up by us as in our own interest rather than in that of the Indians.

It is true beyond dispute that there is not a tribe that would not rather have the debt due it for land sold to the United States paid in cash; it is we who prefer to pay in rations and merchandise, giving the Indian no choice in the matter. Our duty to the Indian is plain and simple. Give him also the fair chance, educate him, and let him alone to work out the statue that is in him, knowing that, however rough-hewn it appears to us, there will be found in it lineaments common to all the races and peoples of the earth,—even the reflection of the face of the Father of all.

DUTY TO DEPENDENT RACES.

F. E. W. HARPER. While Miss Fletcher has advocated the cause of the Indian and negro under the caption of Dependent Races, I deem it a privilege to present the negro, not as a mere dependent asking for Northern sympathy or Southern compassion, but as a member of the body politic who has a claim upon the nation for justice, simple justice, which is the right of every race, upon the government for protection, which is the rightful claim of every citizen, and upon our common Christianity for the best influences which can be exerted for peace on earth and good-will to man.

Our first claim upon the nation and government is the claim for protection to human life. That claim should lie at the basis of our civilization, not simply in theory but in fact. Outside of America, I know of no other civilized country, Catholic, Protestant, or even Mahometan, where men are still lynched, murdered, and even burned for real or sup-

posed crimes. As long as there are such cases as moral irresponsibility, mental imbecility; as long as Potiphar's wife stands in the world's pillory of shame, no man should be deprived of life or liberty without due process of law. A government which has power to tax a man in peace, and draft him in war, should have power to defend his life in the hour of peril. A government which can protect and defend its citizens from wrong and outrage and does not is vicious. A government which would do it and cannot is weak; and where human life is insecure through either weakness or viciousness in the administration of law, there must be a lack of justice, and where this is wanting nothing can make up the deficiency.

The strongest nation on earth cannot afford to deal unjustly towards its weakest and feeblest members. A man might just as well attempt to play with the thunderbolts of heaven and expect to escape unscathed, as for a nation to trample on justice and right and evade the divine penalty. The reason our nation snapped asunder in 1861 was because it lacked the cohesion of justice; men poured out their blood like water scattered their wealth like chaff, summoned to the field the larges armies the nation had ever seen, but they did not get their final victorie which closed the rebellion till they clasped hands with the negro, an marched with him abreast to freedom and to victory. I claim for th negro protection in every right with which the government has investe him. Whether it was wise or unwise, the government has exchanged th fetters on his wrist for the ballot in his right hand, and men cann vitiate his vote by fraud, or intimidate the voter by violence, witho being untrue to the genius and spirit of our government, and bringir demoralization into their own political life and ranks. Am I here m with the objection that the negro is poor and ignorant, and the greate amount of land, capital, and intelligence is possessed by the white rac and that in a number of States negro suffrage means negro supremac But is it not a fact that both North and South power naturally gravita into the strongest hands, and is there any danger that a race who we deemed so inferior as to be only fitted for slavery, and social and politi ostracism, has in less than one generation become so powerful that, not hindered from exercising the right of suffrage, it will dominate o a people who have behind them ages of dominion, education, freedo and civilization, a people who have had poured into their veins blood of some of the strongest races on earth? More than a year si Mr. Grady said, I believe, "We do not directly fear the political domi tion of the blacks, but that they are ignorant and easily deluded, pulsive and therefore easily led, strong of race instinct and theref clannish, without information and therefore without political convictio passionate and therefore easily excited, poor, irresponsible, and with

idea of the integrity of suffrage and therefore easily bought. The fear is that this vast swarm, ignorant, purchasable, will be impacted and controlled by desperate and unscrupulous white men and made to hold the balance of power when white men are divided." Admit for one moment that every word here is true, and that the whole race should be judged by its worst, and not its best members, does any civilized country legislate to punish a man before he commits a crime?

It is said the negro is ignorant. But why is he ignorant? It comes with ill grace from a man who has put out my eyes to make a parade of my blindness,—to reproach me for my poverty when he has wronged me of my money. If the negro is ignorant, he has lived under the shadow of an institution which, at least in part of the country, made it a crime to teach him to read the name of the ever-blessed Christ. If he is poor, what has become of the money he has been earning for the last two hundred and fifty years? Years ago it was said cotton fights and cotton conquers for American slavery. The negro helped build up that great cotton power in the South, and in the North his sigh was in the whir of its machinery, and his blood and tears upon the warp and woof of its manufactures.

But there are some rights more precious than the rights of property or the claims of superior intelligence: they are the rights of life and liberty, and to these the poorest and humblest man has just as much right as the richest and most influential man in the country. Ignorance and poverty are conditions which men outgrow. Since the sealed volume was opened by the crimson hand of war, in spite of entailed ignorance, poverty, opposition, and a heritage of scorn, schools have sprung like wells in the desert dust. It has been estimated that about two millions have learned to read. Colored men and women have gone into journalism. Some of the first magazines in the country have received contributions from them. Learned professions have given them diplomas. Universities have granted them professorships. Colored women have combined to shelter orphaned children. Tens of thousands have been contributed by colored persons for the care of the aged and infirm. Instead of the old slave-pen of former days, imposing and commodious are edifices of prayer and praise. Millions of dollars have flowed into the pockets of the race, and freed people have not only been able to provide for themselves, but reach out their hands to impoverished owners.

Has the record of the slave been such as to warrant the belief that permitting him to share citizenship with others in the country is inimical to the welfare of the nation? Can it be said that he lacks patriotism, or a readiness to make common cause with the nation in the hour of peril? In the days of the American Revolution some of the first blood which was shed flowed from the veins of a colored man, and among the latest

words that died upon his lips before they paled in death was, "Crush them underfoot," meaning the British guards. To him Boston has given a monument. In or after 1812 they received from General Jackson the plaudit, "I knew you would endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear; but you have surpassed my hopes. I have found in you, united to all these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds." And in our late civil conflict colored men threw their lives into the struggle, rallied around the old flag when others were trampling it underfoot and riddling it with bullets. Colored people learned to regard that flag as a harbinger of freedom and bring their most reliable information to the Union army, to share their humble fare with the escaping prisoner; to be faithful when others were faithless and help turn the tide of battle in favor of the nation. While nearly two hundred thousand joined the Union army, others remained on the old plantation; widows, wives, aged men, and helpless children were left behind, when the master was at the front trying to put new rivets in their chains, and yet was there a single slave who took advantage of the master's absence to invade the privacy of his home, or wreak a summary vengeance on those whose "defenceless condition should have been their best defence?"

Instead of taking the ballot from his hands, teach him how to use it, and to add his quota to the progress, strength, and durability of the nation. Let the nation, which once consented to his abasement under a system which made it a crime to teach him to read his Bible, feel it a privilege as well as a duty to reverse the old processes of the past by supplanting his darkness with light, not simply by providing the negro, but the whole region in which he lives, with national education. No child can be blamed because he was born in the midst of squalor, poverty, and ignorance, but society is criminal if it permits him to grow up without proper efforts for ameliorating his condition.

Some months since, when I was in South Carolina, where I addressed a number of colored schools, I was informed that white children were in the factories, beginning from eight to ten years old, with working hours from six to seven o'clock; and one day, as a number of white children were wending their way apparently from the factory, I heard a colored man say, "I pity these children." It was a strange turning of the tables to hear a colored man in South Carolina bestowing pity on white children because of neglect in their education. Surely the world does move. When parents are too poor or selfish to spare the labor of their children from the factories, and the State too indifferent or short-sighted to enforce their education by law, then let the Government save its future citizens from the results of cupidity in the

parents or short-sightedness in the State. If to-day there is danger from a mass of ignorance voting, may there not be a danger even greater, and that is a mass of "ignorance that does not vote"? If there is danger that an ignorant mass might be compacted to hold the balance of power where white men are divided politically, might not that same mass, if kept ignorant and disfranchised, be used by wicked men, whose weapons may be bombs and dynamite, to dash themselves against the peace and order of society? To-day the hands of the negro are not dripping with dynamite. We do not read of his flaunting the red banners of anarchy in the face of the nation, nor plotting in beer-saloons to overthrow existing institutions, nor spitting on the American flag. Once that flag was to him an ensign of freedom. Let our Government resolve that as far as that flag extends every American-born child shall be able to read upon its folds liberty for all and chains for none.

And now permit me to make my final claim, and that is a claim upon our common Christianity. I believe in the Christianity of the Christ of Calvary, but I cannot believe in all its saddest and most terrible perversions. They are the shadow that has followed its sunshine and hindered its unfulfilled mission. I think of organized Christianity as a stream ploughing through different strata of earth, and partaking of the nature of the soil through which it percolates. It came to Latin races, but its shadow among them was the inquisition devising its tortures and the *auto-da-fé* lighting its fires. It came to Slavic people, and we have the Greek Church with a background of Anti-Semitic persecutions and the horrors of Siberian prisons. Among English-speaking races we have weaker races victimized, a discontented Ireland, and a darkest England. In America we have had an emasculated Christianity,—a Protestantism shorn of protesting strength, which would sing—

> "Nothing in my hands I bring,
> Simply to thy cross I cling,"

when it should have brought in its hands the sacrifices of justice and mercy and broken every yoke and let the oppressed go free. Degenerate Israel remaining amid the graves, with the host of abominable things in her vessels, said to those whom she rejected, "Stand by thyself. Come not near me; I am holier than thou." A degenerate Christianity sitting by the dishonored tomb of American slavery and remaining amid the graves of the dead past still virtually says to millions of God's poor children, "Stand by thyself. Come not near me, for I am whiter than thou."

Underlying this racial question, if I understand it aright, is one controlling idea, not simply that the negro is ignorant; *that* he is outgrowing; not that he is incapable of valor in war or adaptation in peace. On fields all drenched with blood he made his record in war, abstained from lawless

violence when left on the plantation, and received his freedom in peace with moderation. But he holds in this Republic the position of an alien race among a people impatient of a rival. And in the eyes of some it seems that no valor redeems him, no social advancement nor individual development wipes off the ban which clings to him. It is the pride of Caste which opposes the spirit of Christ, and the great work to which American Christianity is called is a work of Christly reconciliation. God has heaved up your mountains with grandeur, flooded your rivers with majesty, crowned your vales with fertility, and enriched your mines with wealth. Excluding Alaska, you have, I think, nearly three hundred millions of square miles. Be reconciled to God for making a man black, permitting him to become part of your body politic, and sharing one rood or acre of our goodly heritage. Be reconciled to the Christ of Calvary, who said, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men to me," and "It is better for a man that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depths of the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones that believe in me." Forgive the early adherents of Christianity who faced danger and difficulty and stood as victors by the side of Death, who would say, "I perceive that God is no respecter of persons." "If ye have respect of persons ye commit sin." "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Scythian nor Barbarian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all."

What I ask of American Christianity is not to show us more creeds, but more of Christ; not more rites and ceremonies, but more religion glowing with love and replete with life,—a religion which will be to all weaker races an uplifting power, and not a degrading influence. Jesus Christ has given us a platform of love and duty from which all oppression and selfishness is necessarily excluded. While politicians may stumble on the barren mountains of fretful controversy and ask in strange bewilderment, "What shall we do with weaker races?" I hold that Jesus Christ answered that question nearly two thousand years since. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them." When His religion fully permeates our civilization, and moulds our national life, the drink traffic will be abolished, the Indian question answered, and the negro problem solved.

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order is "Women as Police Matrons," by Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, who is abundantly able to speak for herself.

WOMEN AS POLICE MATRONS.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE. It is more than twenty years since my attention was first attracted to this subject. In 1870 I was appointed one of a committee of three to go and see the Superintendent of Police, of New

York, and try and get women appointed as police matrons. We were received very politely by him, but he insisted that there was no need whatever for such an innovation. We asked him if he had never known of an instance where it would have been better to have had a woman in charge in the station-house? At last he did remember an occasion when a young woman was brought into the station-house by a police captain. She could not speak, and the case was entered in the blotter as "drunk and disorderly." She was consigned to a cell, and in the morning was found dead with a dead baby beside her.

It was not long after this, that one beautiful spring Sunday morning, when I was on my way to church, my attention was attracted by screams, and, glancing in the direction from which they proceeded, I saw a sight that I shall never forget. A young woman was being dragged through the streets by two policemen; her dress was partly torn off, her bare white arms were upstretched, each man holding her by a wrist, and thus she was pulled along, her body trailing on the pavement. As they thus forced her on she was crying out, "Have pity on me! Have pity on me! May God punish you for what you are doing!"

I thought of that young woman taken in that condition to the station-house. She was, no doubt, under the influence of liquor; when she reached there, surrounded only by men with no woman to protect her, if need were, even from herself. I resolved then never to cease my efforts until we had secured the presence of police matrons in the station-houses of our great cities. It has been a long fight, and from the first the Police Department of New York have opposed the innovation. I have not time to tell you all that has been done to break down this opposition, and build up public sentiment in favor of the reform. Mass-meetings have been held, articles have been written, addresses delivered, and finally every one was with us except the police. That board steadily refused to appoint matrons, and we were driven to the Legislature. In 1881 a bill was introduced, mandatory in its provisions. It passed the House and Senate with a unanimous vote, but the Governor withheld his signature. He was elected by the men of the State, and, the Police Department of New York being a large and influential body of voters, he did not care to offend them.

In 1882 the same bill was again introduced, passed the Assembly, but failed in the Senate because of the determined opposition of the Police Department.

In 1888 a bill, prepared by the Women's Prison Association of New York, was passed through both houses of Legislature and received the Governor's signature. It ran thus: "Whenever the Board of Apportionment shall appropriate money for the payment of salaries of police matrons, these matrons shall be appointed," etc.

It was a good bill, but, as you will perceive, not mandatory in its provisions. However, under this law police matrons have been appointed in Buffalo, Rochester, and other towns in New York. But from that day to this the Board of Apportionment of New York City has not appropriated the money for the salaries of matrons, and consequently none have been appointed.

Two years ago, when the law was first passed, I went down to see the Mayor and Comptroller to urge this question upon them. They corresponded with the Police Department, and in a few days I received the following letter written to them by the Police Department: "The Board of Police has made no request for an appropriation for salaries of police matrons because, in the opinion of this Department, the appointment of such matrons is neither wise nor expedient."

Last fall a bill was introduced by Senator George F. Roesch, a Tammany Democrat, which proves that some good thing can come from a Tammany Democrat, and it will probably receive the vote of the Democrats. As the other bills have received the support of Republicans, we have great reason to hope that this will be passed by both branches of the Legislature, and we think it will receive the signature of the Governor. Since he has lately been translated to the quiet of the United States Senate, he will not be a candidate for the party vote as Governor, and, we hope not, as President. Therefore we think that, having no longer the fear of the Police Department of New York City, he will sign the bill.

We are just on the threshold of success, and here let me say that we do not mean to find any fault with the policemen; there are many noble and true hearts beating under their blue coats. We know that they are often as kind as men can be in cases of distress, but it is only seemly that the women who are in our station-houses night after night should have the protection of women there.

These are of two classes, prisoners and lodgers. Among the prisoners there are many cases of young girls guilty of a first offence, and, of course, from time to time some who are unjustly accused, and all these are in the charge of men, who must care for them if taken suddenly ill, and search them if charged with theft. Such things are a disgrace to our civilization. The lodgers represent the lost pearls of our sex, those who in the hard struggles of life have sunk lower and lower till they are in that saddest of all conditions, homeless; and for these there is no woman to say a soothing word, to give a hope of a better life. There is also a third class of women who are sometimes detained in the station-houses, to which you or I might belong: I mean women accidentally hurt in the street or overcome by sudden illness, perchance knocked down by a passing vehicle, or prostrated by the heat of the sun; and these are carried to the nearest station,

to wait there until an ambulance can be summoned. All these are in the hands of men, and, however kind a man may be, you know it is not fitting. The policeman embodies force, and side by side with him should stand a woman embodying mercy.

[Since the delivery of the above address, the bill providing for the appointment of police matrons has been passed by the New York Legislature and received the signature of Governor Hill. Under its provisions police matrons are already in office in all the cities of New York.]

WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS.

KATE B. SHERWOOD. I esteem it a great honor to have been invited to say a word for the Woman's Relief Corps, auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, and only regret that the Relief Corps is not to be officially represented at your grand conclave of women.

The advantages which have come to women enlisted in the cause of soldier charities, through national union, as well as to women engaged in the great temperance movement and the cause of home and foreign missions, is but the criterion of success which is sure to follow the mobilization of every branch of woman-workers in a grand forward movement in the interests of all that is pure and progressive, ennobling and elevating and ameliorating in human affairs.

In seven years the Woman's Relief Corps has grown from a handful of societies in two or three States to a mighty organization of women over one hundred thousand strong, having raised and expended over half a million dollars in aid of distressed veterans and their families. Twenty-six State Departments, with a full complement of officers, are tributary to the National Association, while in the other States and Territories the subordinate corps are found.

Its close alliance to the great soldier organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, has been a great incentive to the work of the Woman's Relief Corps. Its workers have been put upon their mettle, since they have had a double cause to conserve: the honor and advancement of woman's work and the honor and advancement of the Grand Army of the Republic as reflected in their work.

And with what results? is the question so frequently asked. With the results that flow from honorable trusts faithfully and efficiently carried out; with the results of enlarged and ennobled womanhood, and a record of good works that has won for them the admiration and warmest encomiums of the veterans whose cause they have served.

If any doubted the ability and executive force of women in organizing and conducting a great National association, semi-military in the precision and completeness of its system of reports, and rigid in its methods of ritualistic work, such doubts have been expelled long

since. So ready and rapid have been our untrained women to grasp and master all the details of organization, that t have excited the wonder of officers of long experience in busin and military discipline.

The power the Relief Corps has been able to exert for good, local and National, is best expressed in the recent assertion, in Boston, of General Wheelock J. Veazy, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, who, in addressing the Massachusetts Convention, Woman's Relief Corps said,—

"I have been ranked with those who did not believe there was any particular good in the Woman's Relief Corps, but I would now say that, having made official visits in many departments, I believe it to be the right arm of the Grand Army of the Republic."

In its State and National capacity the Woman's Relief Corps has been instrumental in shaping wholesome legislation in behalf of Soldiers' Homes, Homes for the Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors, and Homes for Army Nurses and Soldiers' Widows. In California the Woman's Relief Corps has built a Home for women who served as army nurses and the widows of soldiers, for which the Legislature made a handsome appropriation.

In Massachusetts the Relief Corps contributes largely to the support of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, and is associated with the Grand Army in securing large State aid. In Ohio the Woman's Relief Corps has assisted largely in perfecting and maintaining the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, and contributes the sentiment which has made the Ohio Home for Soldiers' Orphans the finest institution for children in the world.

Through the Ohio Woman's Relief Corps two bills have been introduced into the Ohio Legislature of vital importance to soldier classes. The first, advocated by Governor Campbell in his message, provides for a cottage at the Ohio Soldiers' Home for veterans and their wives,—veterans who have left aged and helpless wives to subsist on charity, or go to the county poor-houses in order to enter there. The other bill provides for an Ohio Cottage at the National Relief Corps Home for the shelter of Ohio Army Nurses and Soldiers' Widows. This bill has already passed the House.

The National Relief Corps Home, to which reference has been made, was opened by the National Association, at Madison, Ashtabula County, Ohio, in the summer of 1890. It has been equipped and furnished, and is supported solely by the Woman's Relief Corps, and affords a real home for aged and disabled women who served as army nurses, and will ultimately be opened to the widows and mothers of soldiers.

In Pennsylvania the Woman's Relief Corps has founded a Memorial

Home for aged veterans, with their wives, and the widows and orphans of veterans, and at the same time contributes materially to the comfort of the veterans in the Erie Soldiers' Home.

In Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Colorado the State departments are aiding largely in the support of their soldier institutions, and in other States where new projects are inaugurated women are using their best efforts to make them established facts.

A bill to pension, at the rate of twelve dollars per month, women who served as army nurses has for the past two terms been pushed in Congress by the Woman's Relief Corps. In 1889 it passed the Senate, and, revised in 1890, it was placed on the calendar of the House, having been unanimously reported by the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

The scope of the Woman's Relief Corps and its power for good, not only as a charitable but a patriotic organization, is best expressed in the objects of the association which form the preamble to its rules and regulations, herewith appended. And here it may be rightfully claimed that the great movement to place the American flag over every school-house in the land originated with the Woman's Relief Corps. The objects of the Woman's Relief Corps are as follows:

"SECTION 1. To specially aid and assist the Grand Army of the Republic and to perpetuate the memory of the heroic dead.

"SECTION 2. To assist such Union veterans as need our help and protection, and to extend needful aid to their widows and orphans. To find them homes and employment, and assure them of sympathy and friends. To cherish and emulate the deeds of our army nurses, and of all loyal women who rendered loving service to our country in her hour of peril.

"SECTION 3. To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America; to inculcate lessons of patriotism and love of country among our children and in the communities in which we live; and encourage the spread of universal liberty and equal rights to all."

In conclusion, I may say that I had the pleasure, as Chairman of the Committee on Woman's National Council, to make the majority report to Seventh National Convention, Boston, August, 1890, favoring an official alliance of the Relief Corps with the National Council. There was no opportunity of presenting it until the closing hours of the session, when there was no discussion and but a handful of delegates present, and the minority report prevailed. There is reason to believe, however, that there is a growing sentiment in the Relief Corps in harmony with the majority report, which was as follows:

"Your Committee was appointed under the following resolution, presented by the Chairman of this Committee at Sixth National Convention.

"*Resolved*, That the Woman's Relief Corps become a part of the Woman's National Council, provided satisfactory arrangements can be made.

"In adopting this resolution National Convention fully committed itself to the principles of union, which were fully set forth at the time,—viz.:

"1. An alliance with all National Associations of women engaged in Philanthropies, Industries, Professions, Organization, Education, Temperance, Legal Conditions, Social Purity, Art and Science.

"2. The power thus given the Woman's Relief Corps to place its grand work for the Union veteran before the country, at the capital of the United States, when Congress is in session.

"3. The privilege of honoring the Grand Army of the Republic, as their official auxiliary, through such National exposition of Relief Corps work as shall give us the position we have earned in the front line of National philanthropies.

"4. The opportunity of fostering a patriotic sentiment in behalf of the organized work of the Relief Corps for the Union veterans, their widows and orphans, and the noble women who served as army nurses, thus securing a more full and hearty recognition of their rights to just legislation and popular regard."

THE PRESIDENT. Dear friends, we have certainly had a blessed time this morning. We have had enough true gospel to save this planet.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1891.

Evening Session.

WOMEN IN THE CHURCHES.

AFTER the presentation to the National Council of land at Glen Echo for the erection of a Woman's Temple, Miss Willard said,—

In response to the presentation of this deed, I will say that we will accept these documents and will do our best to try to carry out all that is written therein. They bring us these pieces of granite and say it is a specimen of the granite which they will present to us; and so we have all the material already furnished, and I think that we can answer these brothers and say to them, "It shall be as you have written, and even more abundantly."

The President then introduced Rev. Mila Frances Tupper.

PRESENT STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH.

REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER. It is common to say and believe that the present time, whatsoever it be, is the most crucial era in any causes whatsoever the cause may be. Perhaps it is always true; certainly humanity pushes its onward path weighted with ever heavier burdens of noble causes, and every movement that is in line with the onward march of things must increase in significance, until it ceases to be a cause and becomes a part of an established order.

But it seems as if the present situation of women in the Church is, in a special sense, of unprecedented interest. All over the United States there is agitation of the question in some form. This is to an extent due to the discovery made by the Methodist Church that its constitution did not allow women to act as representatives to the General Assembly. This and the subsequent agitation has awakened all of the church people to an interest in the position occupied by their own body upon the question, so that thousands who had given the question no thought and probably were

ignorant that any distinction existed were brought to face the situation. This has been helpful to the cause independently of any specific gains.

The great cause, however, is much more general. Women have been growing as individuals; modern life has had need of them in many lines, and they have slipped half unconsciously into fields before unoccupied.

As woman's power of independent activity increased, this power became a welcome help in the church life. Quietly and simply one line of work after another had been done by them, with practically no question as to propriety or authority, until it was suddenly discovered that constitutions did not grow imperceptibly as customs do, and hence a halt must be called until the letter of the law be made to fit the spirit of new conditions. Thus it is found that the matter of church government plays an important part in the causes that differentiate the churches as regards the position of women in them. Those having strongly centralized governments necessarily are more slowly moved to embrace new conditions. Excepting the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches, which do not seem to have felt as yet any effects from the change in woman's position, the Episcopal, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches are the most conspicuous branches of the Church having this highly-organized government. So that it is significant that in each of these important innovations have either been lately established or are now under consideration.

The Episcopal Church in 1889 passed the canon of Deaconesses. This provides that any Bishop may appoint unmarried women of devout character and proved fitness to the office of Deaconess. This office resembles rather more the Sisterhood than the office of Deacon as it exists in most churches.

Deaconesses are not pledged to continue in the work, and can leave it to marry if they wish, but it is required that they shall be prepared both technically and religiously during two years, and give up their entire time to the care of the poor and sick, religious training, and moral reformation. It is usually expected that they live together and wear a distinctive garb. They are set apart for the office by an appropriate religious form. The Bishop of New York has prepared a beautiful and impressive service which is already in use in his diocease.

This Order of Deaconesses is claimed to be no innovation, but a "revival of the Scriptural order of Deaconesses." Indeed, indisputable proof is furnished that it was a wide-spread order in early church life. Part of the prayer in the service before mentioned is taken from one in use in the third century. Part of the old form is as follows:

"Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator both of man and of woman, who didst fill with Thy Holy Spirit Mary, Deborah, Anna, and Huldah, who didst not disdain that Thy only begotten Son should be born of a woman, who also in the Tabernacle of Testimony, and in the Temple, didst appoint women as the keepers

of Thy Holy Gates, look now Thyself on this Thy handmaid here set apart for the office of a Deaconess."

Although the canon authorizing the appointment of Deaconesses was only passed in 1889, the order was practically well established before. Now they are at work in Alabama, Long Island, Western New York, Massachusetts, and in New York City. A Training School for Deaconesses is established at 802 Broadway, New York.

One of the prominent clergy of New York City who has worked valiantly for the establishment of this order has lately said, "I am more than ever convinced that properly trained, organized bands of women —call them what you will, Sisters, Deaconesses, or any other name you choose—are of vital importance to the philanthropic and church work of the future."

There is certainly promise of great good to result from this work, although there is in it as yet little that satisfies the demand for a free play of woman's individuality in each and every part of the church-work for which she is fitted. Yet even though the imagination can scarcely as yet picture a woman as bishop or surpliced clergyman, perhaps the field-glass which sweeps the centuries may reveal even this. In the mean time let us rejoice in all opportunity that is given to women for devoted, systematic service for humanity.

The Presbyterian Church is now discussing the question of Deaconesses, although the office for them is different from that among Episcopalians, being the same as that of Deacon. This can be inaugurated only by the vote of a majority of the two hundred and thirteen Presbyteries. The vote is to be taken this year, and report made to the next General Assembly. It was a surprise to many Presbyterian churches to find that this vote would be required, for in a number of them women had been holding the Deacon's office for years, with church and pastor quite unconscious that they were violating the rules of the denomination. Women have always been allowed to vote in the Presbyterian Church, I understand, as in most of the denominations, although the privilege is not always used.

Of the Methodist Church you will hear in another paper. The Woman's Missionary Board of this Church is quite independent of the general board, and supports in full one hundred and twenty-two foreign missionaries, nine hundred and ninety-six native workers, and sixty home missionaries. Several preachers were licensed, but the General Conference decided it to be unconstitutional a few years ago. This may become legal as well as full ordination by a majority vote of the General Conference,—that is, changing the discipline. The admission of delegates requires a constitutional change of three-fourths of the ministry in annual conference and two-thirds in general conference.

Turning to the Congregational denominations, or those otherwise simply organized, we find that among them it is purely a question of custom and public sentiment or local rule. As soon as any society desires to have women in any position, they are at liberty to do so. The entire denomination does not have to move in organic body, but little squads can push out when the spirit moves with no one to say it "nay." It does not follow, however, that there has been any grand rush of battalions to an advanced ground upon the women question among Congregational bodies. They may be conservative from choice as others are from organic necessity. The Calvinistic Baptist Church, for instance, in the person of the Secretary of the Publishing Committee announces that it holds the good old fortress upon this question, even though it be at liberty to evacuate at any time. He says, "I do not know that there is any rule or law to prohibit the ordination of women or their settlement as pastors, but it would be against the entire preference and judgment of the denomination. . . . There are many in the denomination engaged in evangelical work, as local, city, and district missionaries laboring from house to house, but not as preachers. . . . The offices of local churches are in no case, as far as I know, filled by women, either as trustees or deacons. Women delegates are sometimes sent to associations, but not to anniversaries of national societies."

I should be surprised if investigation would not prove that their official, living in Philadelphia, is not fully informed as to some of the facts relative to the position of women in the Baptist Church, but those of us who glory in the freedom of the Congregational government will not be altogether sorry that one branch proves the conservative possibilities that lie in the "preference and judgment" of a denomination even if not hedged in by law.

In other orthodox, independent churches, as the Congregationalist, the Free and Seventh-Day Baptists, Protestant Methodist, and others, the individual churches differ according to location and character. In some of them it is an innovation for women to take part in prayer-meetings and to vote, while in others they are fearlessly given every privilege and ordained to the ministry.

The Church of the Disciples formally wiped out the sex line in 1867, so that no distinctions are drawn. The women have a separate mission board, however, and have distinguished themselves by doing the work of the society upon three per cent., a phenomenal business record. They have also been sensible enough to obliterate the foreign and home distinction in mission work, their funds being sent to China or Utah, Georgia or Greenland, according to the needs and the resources of the treasury.

The educational influence that the work of women for missions has

had is inestimably great. It is a field in which there seems to have been little question that women were needed, so that scarcely any opposition has been made to their work. The women working in societies have been developed and broadened by the activity and world-wide outlook, while those in the field have learned to do all kinds of ministerial duty. It has also led to a demand that they be given full ordination, since the work involves serious need that women administer the sacraments. The women returned from the field have also accustomed congregations to women in the pulpit, since most of the churches freely welcome their public reports of the work accomplished.

Although completeness of view has seemed to make necessary a summary of the progress of women in other departments of church-work, the real interest for most of us centres, I think, upon their work in the ministry. This, as the last point to be yielded, better represents the high-water-mark of woman's recognition in the Church. Judging from the experience some of us have had in certain branches of the Church, and in certain localities, it might be said that the day was won, that barriers, either in theory or practice, were removed, and that the only question left was, how to make the most of the blessed opportunities that await women in this wide field. That this condition is not universal, however, must be remembered; but it may be encouraging to know that in scores of communities the ministry of women is an unquestioned commonplace. The Secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference lately stated, when taking part in the joint ordination of a husband and wife, that applications were frequently made to him for pastors with a preference expressed for a woman. One church, he said, confessed that there was a foolish prejudice among its people against a man in the pulpit, but it was hoped this might soon be outgrown.

In one region of the West it has happened that the women at the head of churches of one denomination have exceeded the number of men. And here the tables seem quite turned.

I once asked my little niece what she meant to do when she grew up. "Oh, make the beds, wash the dishes, and help mamma preach." Her brother then asserted that he also was to help mamma preach. His sister looked surprised a moment, and then said, condescendingly, "Mens do preach sometimes, I guess."

In at least two parishes a child, on being told that a certain man was the new minister, has exclaimed, "But, mamma, that is a man!"

One comes to lose faith in the authority of the so-called instinctive opposition to the work when it is found how easily it gives way to another contrary instinct. The kind of man who cannot endure the shock to the sensibilities caused by a woman in the pulpit is just the kind to become, under certain conditions, one of those who now argue that only women

should preach, believing that men are not adapted to the spiritual requirements of the work or to the pastoral duties.

Persons unaccustomed to the new order find it quite difficult to conceive that professional and business men can be content to be regularly taught by a woman. A Presbyterian minister, who has written a most earnest plea for women as church officers, ventures the suggestion that it might even be right that they should sometimes *preach* under peculiar conditions. "If, now," he says, "these women shall gather women, children, and *feeble old men* and tell them of Christ, who shall say that such preaching of the Gospel is contrary to Scripture?"

Who, indeed, when those who hear are women, children, and feeble old men? What would the audience that man so cautiously addresses say if they could look into some of our churches and see, as they might, young men and old, lawyers, doctors, statesmen, millionaires, and literary celebrities, sitting regularly with intelligent, critical appreciation under the preaching of women?

This winter a church movement has been started by a woman in one of our large flourishing Western cities; its founders numbered some of the wealthiest and most influential men of the city, and they unanimously insisted that no one but a woman was desirable to go on with the task of organizing and developing this church.

Of the Unitarian churches that have been seeking ministers the last year in the field about Chicago, at least one-half of all the vacancies have preferred a woman; the men as trustees being equally urgent in this matter. This is not sentimental chivalry. Women are criticised as carefully, are brought to account as strictly in their work, as men. At the Conferences the papers of the women are discussed with perfect freedom, their position approved or disapproved with entire disregard of gender. At one two weeks' meeting held last summer, it happened one Sunday that of the dozen or more ministers present those longest and most prominent in the work were two women. It was the public day of the convention, so, of course, both sermons were given by these women.

Of the ten or more ordained men in the convention, some had brilliant ability and reputations, but no one seemed to consider that it was strange that they were given the back seat by the men in charge. They were juniors in the work and were only glad to have an opportunity to hear those whose work had made them honored in the field. Indeed, I doubt if any one noticed that the situation was unusual or commented upon it.

Had the senior workers been men, the women would have been ignored with equal impartiality.

The time has come in some regions when men are big enough to be utterly incapable of a jealous assertion of their superior masculine dig-

nity, and are quite as generous in their appreciation of good work done by their sisters as are women.

Wesley said to one of the early women ministers that of course she must preach if conscience bade her, but to be careful not to do so when a man was preaching near, as it might draw away his hearers. Such advice is an insult to noble manhood, which many of us would have reason to resent if given to-day.

If there were but one community in the world in which the naturalness of women's ministry was established it would be a trustworthy prophecy. But there are many; almost every woman in the work has left in her wake a changed sentiment in her own and other communities; so that, although the numbers are few, the influences have multiplied.

The Superintendent of Evangelistic Work in the W. C. T. U. has done valuable service of late in compiling a list of the women who either preach or do evangelistic work, which shows seven hundred and twenty names. This included three hundred and fifty Friends. Of the churches which regularly ordained women, the Universalist stands at the head in the number who have entered. They have twenty-seven ordained and eleven licensed. The Church of the Disciples is reported in one place as having forty-three women regularly in the ministry. Unitarians have sixteen ordained women, although a large number of other women among them preach frequently enough to seem in the ranks. In at least four cases husbands and wives are both ordained, while a large number of unordained wives occupy their husbands' pulpits frequently. In the Congregational Church, six ordained women are officially reported. It is said that there are others. This is the church towards which we look for the most rapid progress in the near future, as its women will surely enter the door which the church government leaves open to whomsoever can prove that she has work to do. The work at Nantucket under Miss Louise S. Baker, Congregationalist, has been an object lesson to New England and far beyond. The Draxy Miller story, by Saxe Holm, has been duplicated in real life at Broughton, New York, where a wife has succeeded her deceased husband.

It was thought for some time that women pastorates were not practicable in cities, however they might succeed in villages; this has been demonstrated to be a mistake.

In Chicago (Englewood) a woman, Miss Kollock, has been pastor of a Universalist church for twelve years, and the pronounced success of her work is unquestioned.

In Sioux City, Iowa, there is also a striking example of woman's work in the city. Two women, Miss Mary A. Safford and Elinor E. Gordon, have worked together here, and in five years have built up from a small

unorganized nucleus one of the two or three strongest Unitarian churches west of Eastern cities.

While either would have done good work alone, the phenomenal condition of this church illustrates the advantages of going out "in two's." This will be more and more common as the friendship of women comes to take the place Miss Cobbe assigns it as almost co-ordinate with marriage.

Long pastorates are becoming a feature of the ministry, among Universalists especially, while almost everywhere, when a woman leaves a field, there is a call for another woman to succeed her. This indicates that women's ministry is past the theoretic stage. It is no longer necessary to present arguments *pro* and *con* at any of the places where the actual working has been seen.

Ex-President White tells the story of a French monarch who, on taking a journey through one of his dominions, was about to enter one of the cities. He was met at the gate by one of the mayor's deputies, who, bowing low, offered apology for his master's absence. "Your Highness," he began, "there are just thirteen reasons why the mayor cannot be here to welcome you. The first is, he is dead!" Thereupon the king very graciously informed the deputy that he would not trouble him with the other twelve reasons. And so I fear you will want to release me from any further discussion of the question, saying, that when actual experience has demonstrated the desirability of women in the ministry any twelve or twenty other reasons will be superfluous. However, I hope you have a little sympathy with the mayor's deputy, thinking of the good speech spoiled by the king's amiability, and so will allow me to proceed with my reasons, even though the previous statement of facts will necessarily throw them somewhat in the shade.

Of the Biblical argument I cannot speak, as time does not allow or the occasion warrant a discussion as to the degree and kind of authority that would be attached even to its indisputable teachings.

Those interested in this side of the question I would refer to tracts upon the subject published by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which are written by prominent men in orthodox churches, and Miss Willard's discussion of it in "Women in the Pulpit."

The nature of the ministry, and the nature of woman, seem to many of us the ultimate grounds upon which woman's work in the Church depends.

The ministry represents faith in the practical power of ideas and ideals. Its mission is to bring into human life, with its whirl of happenings, the sense of an all-pervading meaning and purpose; to help mankind to sift from the chaff of circumstances the kernels of reality and worth; to stir in individual souls the life of the spirit which shall pervade every crack and crevice of human existence. It deals not with one side of living,

but with all sides, with the life-blood which pulsates into every artery of the social organism.

And thus the Church makes of the ministry a profession whose specialty is humanity. Everything that affects the well-being of humanity is of interest to the minister. The all-important requisite for the work is an abiding faith in and love for human lives; not mere theoretic amiability towards mankind at large, but a practical every-day interest in persons, including the commonplace, the vulgar, the ignorant, the ill-bred; that person is best fitted for this work who has the greatest knowledge of people and their needs on the spirit side of life, and he has the greatest knowledge of these who has lived most intensely and broadly himself, and seen with the most sympathetic clearness the life experience of others. The other requisites are secondary, but more or less essential.

There should be education sufficient to give the true perspective to one's view of life and thought problems, and mental and physical ability and endurance sufficient to give forth that life experience in pulpit and pastoral channels.

Of course the ministry is not exclusively adapted to women. It calls for the services of both men and women. The work that is pre-eminently for humanity, as human, needs the help of each of the great halves of humanity to give it the natural equipoise in method and spirit. If men and women are as different in characteristics as is claimed, then by every such difference is the need of each as workers in any field intensified. I doubt the force of the generalizations so easily made regarding the traits which belong respectively to the sexes. I pity the persons to whom no thought of father or brother or friend cries out against placing tenderness and sympathy as peculiar to woman's nature. I am sorry for those to whom no thought of mother's judgment or sister's courage refuses to make strength the attribute of man alone.

Yet perhaps it is true that the preponderance of logical power is with the men and emotional intensity on the side of women, and, if so, surely the more reason that the work at large should seek a balance between these equally worthy elements of life. The influences of equal education and co-education are fast bringing about a broader training for both men and women which will bring them nearer together. The best men are womanly, the best women are manly. The ideal man or woman is not wanting in any trait that is noble in human nature. We are tending not towards developed half-hood, but towards human-wholeness. And this all-around development can be hastened in no way more surely than by having women as well as men in the pulpit, at the fountain-head of the people's ideals.

I cannot endorse the plea for the women in the ministry when based upon their greater virtue. I think one may easily exaggerate the relative

goodness of women. And if that goodness rests, as is generally believed, upon comparative freedom from temptation, it is no added qualification for the ministry. It is the conquered temptation, the trait that represents self-conquest, which will give to man or woman power here. If I believed that woman's virtue was the inevitable instinctive thing that many people feel they honor women in believing, I should not feel she had any right to face this world of temptation and struggles, of weakness and sin, with any message of righteousness. But the God of nature has seen to it that virtue is not lightly earned by mortal man or mortal woman.

Mr. Van Dyke reminds us that woman as well as man is a miserable sinner,—a sufferer by the fall, and as much in need of Divine grace as any other "worm of the dust."

However that may be, we may leave divines to dispute. But one thing is certain, if we are not co-sufferers in the fall of man, we are alike the partakers of the good and evil that has attended the rise of man, and we must together press on towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in the perfect man.

But although woman is not naturally needed more than man in the ministry or better fitted for it, yet man has done the work alone so long that there is especial need now for woman's peculiar influence. The Church needs the home-maker. It needs all the mighty resources of sympathy and tenderness that the blessed experiences of sister, mother, or daughter have given woman. It needs that man's reverence for religion should be reinforced by his reverence for womanhood.

The family is the great object lesson whereby is revealed to man the divine truth that we are all brothers and sisters in a common family. The day is dawning when men will awaken to what this means as never before.

All one family; all one in the Infinite Life which pulsates through our own. It is woman's privilege to help mightily in bringing the world to feel this.

After expressing regret at the absence of Jane M. Bancroft and Franc Elliot, the President said she was fortunate in having found a most worthy and capable representative to speak on the subject, and introduced Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap, who spoke as follows:

WOMEN IN THE METHODIST CHURCH.

MRS. LATHRAP. Madam President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It is fair to say that I did not expect to represent the Methodist Church until coming on this platform a few moments ago; and while I have many things which I might say, I expect to refer to a subject that just now has

prominence not only in the minds of the Methodist people, but in the minds of people throughout the world.

It has been recognized for a long while that the women are banging away at the doors of the Church for admission. I desire to say that under this movement of the women for recognition there lies a philosophy that is wide and deep. It is now about forty years ago since Professor West, living in this city, wrote out the first curriculum of college study for women, and it raised a great storm of abuse about his ears. He was told that women were incapable of higher education; and that if women could master mathematics they ought not to be allowed to do so, because it would make them strong-minded. The fact is, that to-day many schools are open for the education of women, as large a percentage are open to them as to their brothers, and it has proved to the world the fallacy of the idea that women are incapable of higher education. Our girls go to school, and come out and love and marry, and make better wives and mothers; which proves that after mastering mathematics they are but women still.

Forty years ago there were less than half a dozen avocations into which women could go and earn a scanty livelihood. Now there are more than three hundred. The women are entering the learned professions, and are sweeping through the arts and sciences, and also reaping the golden rewards of the business world. Woman's altered relation to the world of education, and her changed relation to the material world, the money world, and the responsible world, shows she can take care of herself, and this has within twenty-five years changed the relation of women to all things in this world. That is the philosophy which underlies this condition, and if you cannot stand this urgency of womanhood everywhere for a recognition among the powers and responsibilities and developments of the world, you would better move into a more solidified world than this.

Now, let us apply that philosophy to the Church. The business world has recognized women and opened its avocations to them. General Spinner recognized women, and pushed open the doors of these departments to them,—doors that had never been opened to them before. (Applause.) The business world has recognized the women,—and it seems strange that the Church should be surprised, not to say embittered, in this discussion about women's right and power under these new conditions. Women have got their brains broadened by the same studies, demonstrations, and investigations that the men have.

You have opened the doors of your colleges to the girl, and she has come back educated. What are you going to do with her after she comes back? Do you suppose that she is going to sit down and crochet impossible dogs on tidies? The women of to-day remind me sometimes of the

scientific and humorous picture of a chicken which went round in the illustrated papers some time since. This chicken had just pecked its way out of the shell and stood with a piece of shell on its back; and, shaking its wings, it began to look back at the little shell, and, stretching itself up, said, "Nobody can ever convince me that I have been in there." Brethren, we have pecked our way out. (Applause.) You might just as well be good-natured about it and help us along. Why should not the Church feel this same recoil and change that the business world has felt? It should, for this reason: that three-fourths of the Church are women; two-thirds of the Sunday-school teachers are women; and they are doing its work as teachers, and supporting the Church, paying its bills, and elevating its societies; and you brethren would not have enough church to be buried from if it were not for the efforts of the women. (Applause.)

Now think of this little male contingency in the Church; this little company of men in the official corner of the Methodist Church,—or in any other church,—considering themselves to be the whole church, suddenly saying to the Methodist women that they have not belonged to the laity all these years. Imagine them saying to us, "You do not belong in any regular way to the laity of the Methodist Church at all." Now look for a moment or two into the history of the Methodist Church. If it had not been for the mother of Wesley we never would have had any Methodist Church. (Laughter.) I do not mean simply because she was the mother of the founder of the Church; because if I used the remark in that sense it would mean everything on the face of the earth; but I mean that Wesley was tied up in his narrow ecclesiastical surroundings. Somebody was preaching a more wide gospel, and one that resulted in redeeming England. His mother said, "You would better go and listen and see what there is in it;" and so that great man, brought up in the English Church, was converted, and his glorious work for the Lord Jesus Christ generated the power that was so grand and glorious that its influence has been heard around the world.

When Methodism was transplanted from the old country, it took root and divided the people in this country, and to-day the Methodist denomination is the largest Christian denomination in the United States of America. In Wesley's time, in the societies and class-meetings there were religious exercises in which women were sometimes asked to open their lips in prayer and speech. It is true that women in Wesley's time were not licensed in an official capacity to preach, but they were called upon to do so sometimes. Upon one occasion they were warned not to preach near where a brother was preaching, for fear they would draw away his congregation.

I was astonished when a reverend gentleman in the city of New York

said to me that we have only a single church is this country that is American in its polity; that the churches had all borrowed their ideas and polities from Europe. I heartily offended some of my friends by saying that the Methodist Church was but a second remove from the Roman Catholic Church, and was almost as close in its method of organization as even the Catholic Church itself. I am not saying anything in the way of criticism of the Methodist Church. I am only stating what is a fact and cannot be disputed. The Methodist polity in its early day was the willingness of the men who had hold of it; and in those days Methodism was a great propaganda that was seeking the salvation and redemption of souls. It means more than that to-day. It means great book concerns, and valuable literary works, great editors, and it means a great many things it did not then mean. It means power and life.

The women of that Church in 1871 organized the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, and have carried it on with marvellous success. Following that came the Women's Home Missionary Society, which looked to the help of the Indians and the Negroes, and the evangelization of the cities.

I do not just now recall its date, but there came a time—and I want you to notice this particularly—when the Methodist Church came to such a position that the laymen made a demand for representation in the General Conference. The Methodist Church has always been an ecclesiastical body. The brethren composing the laity began to knock away at the doors and say, "We think we ought to have representation in the Conference as the lay body of the Church." Why did they do this? Bishop Simpson had said that they gave the money and they supported the great institutions of Methodism, and he thought they ought to have recognition in the main body of the Church in order to say where and how their money should be expended. The laity said, "We do the work and we furnish the money to carry it out, and we think we ought to have something to say."

At first the ecclesiastical board was unwilling to let the laity in, but finally they knocked so hard that the board was obliged to do so, and submitted the question of the admission of lay delegates to the Conference of the Church in this country. I thought I was one of the laymen too. I thought when the doors of the General Conference were open, that they should be opened to the female laity too.

So, about this time the women began to act, and five women were elected to the last General Conference, and among them was the honored President of this Council, Frances E. Willard. I was honored by being one of the alternates. I saw Miss Willard, and I asked her to come to the State of Michigan, and she said, "I am not going, because that is the month in which the General Conference meets." I said, "Oh, do not

be alarmed, you cannot get in. The brethren will not let you in." She said, "Why, Mary, do you think the brethren will shut us out?" I said, "Yes." And so they did.

How was that accomplished? The whole case was prejudged in the first place, and the most remarkable things were done in order to prejudice the case against us. Usually bodies of men are organized at the outset, and the credentials are considered before the organization is perfected. The result in this case was that those five women, just as devoted and brainy and useful as any of the men that stood upon the floor of that Conference, were shut out solely because they were women. The brethren did not say that, but they said the "law of the Methodist Church was not in shape at present to admit them;" and the women were voted out on that technicality. I am *glad* they did it. Now face to face with this unusual organization of that General Conference, that body, by its action, declared that women were not full members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and were not in the same relation to it as the men. A new law was put through to define the subordinate relation that we should henceforth hold in that Methodist Episcopal Church. I wish you to fix that clearly in your minds, because there are women going around saying, "I don't want to be admitted to the General Conference." I want to say that the women are fully aroused, and that when the laity in the Methodist Church deliberately declare in the face of the historical past of the Methodist Churches that women are in no full sense members of the Church, when they were converted and baptized and were taken into the Church, and that a new law must be made in order to define woman's subordinate relation, or to lift her up to the privilege of full membership in the laity, is it any wonder that the world is astonished,—as three-fourths of the membership of the Methodist Church are women, and nine-tenths of its work is done by them; and seven-tenths of its charity is being done by them? I say, is it any wonder that the world expects to see the women admitted into the highest ecclesiastical council of the largest Christian denomination in the United States of America? (Applause.)

What did this Conference do when it organized in this extraordinary manner? It organized the order of deaconesses! They said the women should sit in straight gowns and plain bonnets and do their work for nothing. (Bell rings.) If I have gotten clearly before you two things I will sit down, as the bell has rung. Two things I desire to fix in your minds. I am a Methodist and I love my Church, and I want to see it go on and forge ahead. Three-fourths of its membership to-day are women; and women always bring to the altar of Christ their best efforts and their love. I want you, if you are interested in this question, to understand that the women by the usual method of getting into the Methodist Church are in every full sense members thereof, and that just now the Church has

enacted a new law to define their subordinate relation, or to lift them up to the privilege that manhood has had in the Methodist Church since its organization in this country. (Applause.)

After the remarks of Mrs. Lathrap, Miss Willard said,—

It is very refreshing and reassuring to women for them to know that the representatives of two millions of Methodists in this country have met, and after voting on whether women are full members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was found that sixty-two per cent. of those present voted that we were.

MRS. LATHRAP. I intended to say that, but they rang the bell upon me.

MODERN CHARITY AND CHURCH WORK.

EMILY S. SHERWOOD. The church that does not with one hand stretch out to help the world of waiting, hungry, and needy ones outside of its communion has no excuse for being, however devoted it may be to fostering its own interests. A selfish Christian church, like a selfish Christian individual, is a paradox incarnate. It is not enough for the Christian to pay a high salary to an educated minister, who will preach from a mahogany or marble pulpit to a rich and indolent congregation sitting on velvet cushions within four stone walls, under God's golden sunshine streaming through gayly-pictured memorial windows. "The poor ye have always with you" is as old as Christianity, if not four thousand years older. The rich man can only hold his millions during a lifetime, and abundance brings with it obligations, duties, and privileges that no Christian dare turn aside from.

Our cities are full of criminals; and still they come from foreign shores. Poverty is not necessarily degrading, but temptation to certain sins lies close to those beset by want. One cannot walk by on the other side of life, and ignore all this misery without narrowing his own soul. Even secularism, as embodied in the State, owns to responsibilities, and, resultingly, we have insane hospitals, blind asylums, deaf-and-mute institutions, and other alleviating charities that help to lighten the lives, or at least soften the miseries, of these afflicted ones. But there are others to whom the State or Government acknowledges no duty. While it provides for the afflicted, it does not see to it that even much of this misery is preventable. It is not charity of the highest type to merely feed the hungry. A man or a woman may be too indolent to work for an honest living, and fall into want through a false pride, or lack of manhood or womanhood. It is not charity to merely feed such, fostering even their unconscious vices. But if they can be stimulated to throw aside false standards, to help themselves, to take help expecting to return its equiva-

lent to another needy one, if not to the donor, then you have begun to exercise the higher type of Christian charity, the kind the world needs.

Our orphan asylums that provide sustenance for children, with a scant education thrown in, but no training in mechanical and industrial arts, are not doing the work they should; and in some instances a child of poverty or of sin would better die in infancy than grow up in an institution unprovided with such training as will make it develop into a self-sustaining and self-respecting citizen. The Church's main work is to save the children, and one of its greatest successes so far lies in the free kindergartens, which are sustained by devoted women connected with the churches. In all our great cities the kindergartens are thus doing a grand work in rescuing children from lives of vice, by teaching them how to be good, happy, and useful. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco find much that is helpful in the work of the kindergartens. There are over forty-three kindergartens in full operation in San Francisco alone. I would like to quote a little from Mrs. Cooper's address before the National Conference of Charities in San Francisco in 1889. She says,—

"There is from the kindergarten a steady stream of influence that flows back into families, which tells for good, no matter how wretched or degraded the household may be. The parents come to feel that their children are of some value, and they treat them with more consideration and kindness. The children feel that some one loves them, and they unfold like plants in the sunshine.

"The kindergarten prepares for the arts and trades. It lays a good strong foundation for industrial education. As a thoughtful writer has said, the plan of industrial education brings with it some hopes of alleviating the misery which so abounds, and of making good citizens of a class who have been so long a burden upon municipal shoulders. We may give in the old way until we have given everything, and there is no relief from the terrible poverty, while the habit of receiving aid only grows stronger from what it feeds on. But to teach a man, woman, or child—above all, the children—that to receive that for which no return is made is a disgrace, and to put them in the way of earning an honest living, is the first and most important step towards doing away with professional beggary and raising the ambition of a class of people heretofore supposed to be without that quality. In the kindergarten the child is taught to pay for what it gets,—to earn it by effort and industry. He is taught to scorn to lean on the help and work of others. He is not only taught what objects are, but he is taught to produce them. He is taught to create. He is thrown upon his own resources just as much as possible."

The Church finds much to do in building homes for its own poor and respectable members, who through misfortune have come to want,—those only whose age and increasing infirmities prevent them from helping themselves. To these the duty is clear. It is "more blessed to give" to such "than to receive," for to many of these it is truly the bitter bread of poverty, though eaten not without thankfulness and tears of gratitude.

The Church is even responsible for much of the immorality that stalks about at midnight; that engulfs both men and women who are capable of a better life if led by a helping hand away from these pitfalls of temptation and sin. For how much temptation is the rich Christian woman responsible, she who always wears her best clothes to church, thereby exciting the envy of a poorer sister? It is a well-known fact that more young girls of the poorer classes who fall into vice do so through love of dress, and the supposed advantages for getting it in an evil life, than through betrayal or seduction; while hundreds of people are deterred from a regular attendance at church because they cannot afford to dress as others do who are better off. At first this may not look like a subject that even remotely touches Christian duty or charity, yet it does. It is the duty of the Christian to so live and act as to attract and not repel those who need the help of a consistent Christian church home; to attract those who need the companionship which every church should give to every member, however humble, who desires it.

The modern fashionable church needs arraigning at the bar of public opinion for its false standards; it needs to be told that for every rich dowry it holds it is held responsible here and hereafter.

The "tramp" is another class with whom modern charity has to deal. Some communities regard him as a criminal without trial, if found within their borders without the passport of a "visible means of support," the very thing he claims to be in search of. He is not attractive as a species, nor desirable as an unbidden guest; but he may be a "man for a' that," and it is the duty of modern society to find a means of getting rid of him and his Bohemian ways in some safe way for the community and himself. The Chicago *Evening Post* the other day through a correspondent presented the German method of treating the tramp. We might find it to our advantage to adopt this system.

"In America I find the same deplorable—I use the word deplorable in relation to the ultimately beneficial results—methods obtain as in England. In either country idleness receives from the charitable institutions a positive encouragement. This I have concluded not simply from observation, but from conversations with the heads of noted charitable institutions. Of course there are subjects deserving of charity and whose only hope of life is charity. Those I do not class as receiving encouragement in idleness. I refer to the army of tramps, who are well aware of the fact that the poor-houses will afford them shelter and food to pass their winters in, and without obliging them to work. Such men are seldom known to reform. They become instead more and more confirmed as tramps.

"This was the case in Germany. Since 1882, however, the situation has been gradually changing, until now such a thing as a tramp is one of the great rarities of the empire. In 1882 there was established at a place called Wilhelmsburg a labor colony. And so successful was it that others in different parts of the country were established, and have proved blessings to everybody except the viciously indigent. For them the

jails are good enough. At these labor colonies, to which all candidates or inmates of trampdom are sent, the beneficiaries are compelled to work. For working they are paid a small sum, none of which, however, they receive until the cost of their meals and lodging have been covered. The food is plain, naturally, but it is good and in plenty, and the lodging is clean. The amount of money received by the beneficiaries after the deduction is made is, of course, not large. But it is enough to encourage the great majority of them to work, and when they see that they are able to become self-supporting, an ambition that may have long been smouldering is fanned again into flame, and the reformation is begun. But this is not all. The authorities of the colony are constantly in receipt of applications for workers, and the most worthy of the beneficiaries are selected. The system is working admirably, and, what is more to the point, is nearly self-supporting. Since 1882 nearly fifty thousand persons have been assisted, and the viciously indigent do not average six per cent."

Experience has demonstrated that our jails, poor-houses, and police stations, when left to the exclusive care of secular management, often turn a criminal out on the world worse off than when he was confined therein, for the reason that he is not instructed in any industry by which he can obtain an honest livelihood when he comes out, nor is his manhood built up in any way; worst of all, the probabilities are that if he was "reformed," the very first person to whom he applied for work would refuse it on account of his history.

Here is a work for modern Christian charity to do, to find the way to provide employment for reformed men and women just out of jails or reformatories.

Modern charity's greatest work is with the young,—to teach and guide the homeless, poverty-stricken little ones through the perils that lie between twelve and twenty years of age. The Newsboys' and Children's Aid Societies of our own and other cities are doing a good work in this direction. The orphan, the cruelly neglected, the viciously born, the runaways, all find warm rooms, good food, and some of the comforts of home life and good moral influences within these institutions. These homes are only regarded as temporary by their founders, and the boys all pay a little something out of their small earnings for their keep, the object being to teach the youngsters to be self-helpful and self-respecting. The charity that feeds and clothes the body without compensation of labor or an equivalent will in most cases do more harm than good. But the charity that bestows material benefits to bridge a chasm; that puts the needy one on his or her feet; that tends to foster self-help and self-respect, is the charity that is greater than even faith or hope, for it inspires both. This is what modern charity must do for the world under the benign influence of an enlightened Christianity. Work to save the children from vice, intemperance, and the defects of a bad home or possibly dissipated parentage, to counteract street influences with purer and better ways of living.

While believing in the law of heredity with all my heart, I also believe that education and kindly treatment are even superior to one's inheritance; that individuality can be so brought out as to stamp out the sins of the fathers and mothers. The great emotions of humanity are common property, and heroes and heroines are as often born to those who dine on coarse fare as to those of the purple. Modern charity is to seek and to save those apparently lost souls, to find and develop the germ of royal manhood or womanhood in these children of poverty, to make good citizens of them, and to keep the criminal classes from being recruited from American roots.

Responsibility in modern times rests largely with those of you who have leisure and means. You have responsibility to so use your time and influence as to benefit this undowered world; to lift up the lowly, and to make good use of the trust reposed in you. We cannot have too many kindergartens, too many newsboys' homes, too many free industrial schools, nor too much of the modern idea of charity as disseminated through the "Associated Charities." There will still be with all this new machinery cases occurring where immediate help will be needed, but in most cases the rule is a good one, to first know whom you are helping, and what for, and how this need came about. That is both your duty and privilege: ascertaining these facts, then help all around, as the subject requires aid. Help him or her to help themselves. So shall the sum of suffering, poverty, crime, and inefficiency be lessened through an intelligent and Christian adaptation of modern charities to the needs of the hour, on a common sense, practical basis.

THE CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

E. B. GRANNIS. This League was organized to promote and develop the higher and better interests of girls and women, and most of this audience will admit that whatever benefits womanhood crowns manhood. The object of this Society is to elevate public opinion respecting the nature and claims of morality, with its equal obligation upon men and women; to secure a proper, practical recognition of its precepts on the part of the individual, the family, and the nation, and to enlist and organize the efforts of Christians in preventive, educational, reformatory, and legislative work. There is no National or State Society in existence composed of men and women as co-workers whose special mission it is to further this interest in all its departments except the Christian League.

The first and most important aim of the Christian League is to teach the same standard of social purity for boys and men as ought to be maintained for women and girls. The League aims to supply employment, funds, and advice to enable needy girls and women to gain an honorable

living. It forms clubs and societies of the young for their training in wholesome and honest intelligence regarding social purity. It endeavors to instil the principles necessary for the prevention of immorality upon the minds of young children and youth. It seeks to protect young girls from subtle forms of temptation, and to prosecute those who deceive them.

Associated with the Christian League as members of the Executive Board and Officers are the names of Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D.; Mrs. Mary A. Livermore; Rev. A. H. Lewis, D.D.; Dr. Kate Bushnell, Evangelist N. W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Frances J. Barnes, National Superintendent of the Ys of the W. C. T. U.; Mrs. M. P. Buchanan, President N. Y. C. W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Caroline B. Buell, National Secretary of the W. C. T. U.; Mrs. M. Louise Thomas; Miss Theresa Barcolow; Mrs. E. L. Evans, and others.

We would teach and promulgate the right of every child born into the world to the support, counsel, companionship, and love of its father the same as of the mother.

Law and custom should require the same obligation from the father, when his identity is proved beyond question, as is imposed upon the mother, of a child born out of wedlock. The mother of such child, if she is able to prove the fatherhood of her child, and he has the means to support the child, may be able to secure a pittance for this purpose.

The League holds two meetings each month at its head-quarters, 33 East Twenty-Second Street, New York City. At the evening meeting, the last Friday night in each month, papers are read, and addresses given respecting the subject in its various aspects, needs, and remedies, and endeavoring to stimulate the public mind to a higher standard of Purity in thought and action, and to impress Christian people with deeper and more earnest appreciation of the need of personal work regarding this subject. We seek through the Legislature to pass laws making equal the moral obligation of men to every family relation that is obligatory for women.

Every form of impurity tends to the weakening of the mind and body. Resolutions to this effect were sent to the last Presbyterian Synod in New York City, and were read by one of the most prominent clergymen of New York City, in the effort to introduce text-books into the public schools treating upon physiological facts relative to this very important subject, or at least to have these facts treated in the text-books pertaining to alcoholic stimulants and their effect upon the human body. In all cases we associate prohibition of liquor and tobacco with the teaching of Social Purity in all societies and meetings for the young. Although the Christian League did considerable work and accomplished goodly results from 1885, it did not secure a national charter until October, 1889,

under which charter we hope to establish auxiliaries in all parts of the United States, and in other countries wherever workers can be found.

Knowledge of evil, supported by Christian principle, I believe to be the only safe weapon of defence against the subtle evil which is liable to lurk from a corner of the purest and best-equipped nursery down to the filthiest Italian cellar, and up through every grade of society to the most fashionable and artificial, even reaching the immates of the Theological Seminary. The time is at hand for every Christian mother, and for every womanly heart of unmarried womanhood, to rise in their strength for the help of the untaught upon this vital subject, from which the only true happiness and the highest welfare of Christianity and humanity can be obtained.

We hear and read a great deal of mother-love. The world needs mother-love, and a great deal of it; while the fact more prominent, the lack which is seen and felt, and which brings forth its fruits in thorns and thistles, is the terrible want of father-love. The father-love needs constant and persistent effort by all interested to aid in its development from the nursery to the grave. The time has passed for the sentiment to be tolerated that woman is the heart, while man is, and shall forever remain, the brain of the nation. We have learned by sad experience, as well as from glad results, that brain, mental and intellectual development, in womanhood is quite as desirable and beneficial to the human family as love and affection.

We have studied and investigated the cause and effect of Social Impurity in jails and prisons. We have found solitary confinement to be an incipient cause of the mind preying upon the body, developing evil habits, and their results speedily follow, which in many cases precipitate the unfortunate prisoners of both sexes into the insane pavilion. We have sought official aid even from the Governor of New York State, from whom we received his written request for a personal interview, the result of which has been co-operation with the Prison Association and others, which has resulted in much thorough investigation and reformation of certain jails and prisons that have been known as the plague-places of unnamable crimes.

The Christian League is making persistent effort with the law-makers, especially of New York State, to give us new and better laws in regard to this subject, and to persist in keeping those that we have up to as high a standard as now exists.

A few months ago a bill was introduced in the New York Legislature by Senator McNorton, passed the House, and had been favorably reported upon in the Senate, to reduce the age of consent from sixteen to fourteen. The workers interested in Social Purity were deeply impressed, and immediately used all the power and influence possible to prevent the passage

of this bill. The Christian League and the President of the White Cross sent petitions to many of the Senators and persons in power, especially to Senator McNorton, imploring that the bill be withdrawn. The New York *Tribune*, together with other daily papers, aided this matter most tangibly by publishing matter furnished by the Christian League. One of the most efficient and judicious workers, Mr. Aaron Powell, member of the Home and Foreign Committee of Legislation on Social Purity, went to Albany in this interest. The result of this persistent effort was that Senator McNorton recommitted his bill, with the simple declaration that he had no idea there would be any such amount of opposition brought to bear against it.

And now again only last week another bill was brought in to reduce the age from sixteen to thirteen. Does this look as if we need organization to promote the interests of Social Purity? The age of consent remains only seven years in the State of Delaware, and graded from that up to eighteen years in Kansas, which State has usually taken the lead in reformatory law. About the average age in the United States is fourteen years. Surely there should *be no age of consent*, but if we must have a law of consent, let it be a universal law in all the States which shall equal that of legal, honorable marriage.

The League prosecutes its work with its several committees as follows:

A committee on educational and public meetings.

A committee to secure co-operation of physicians and medical colleges.

A committee to secure helpful legislation.

A committee on schools and colleges.

A committee on general reformatory work and instruction of children.

A committee on woman's work and wages.

A committee on departments for young women in suitable amusements.

A committee to visit girls, women, and families needing advice and practical help.

As an individual, I believe it the best policy to pursue for the managers and officers of the League never to ask any person to become a member of the Society, or to join in its work as a duty, as a favor to any person or persons, nor for financial benefit to the Society. Membership should be offered to every Christian man and woman as a privilege.

I trust this sketch may induce some persons to take an interest in our work, and through their instrumentality that many persons all over the country will be interested to aid this much-needed reform which has been so seriously neglected in the past.

THE BRAHMO SOMAJ AND WHAT IT IS DOING FOR THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

MRS. JOSEPH COOK. The *Brahmo Somaj*, which simply means in plain English *God Society*, is a comparatively new term in our vocabulary, but it

has become a familiar one to those who are interested in religious progress throughout the world. Not long ago it was brought to our notice in the person of one of its ablest representatives, and those of you who had the good fortune to hear Mr. Mozoomdar doubtless received a new impression of the educated Hindu. You found him able to express his ideas in fluent and forcible English and to adapt himself, with the ease of a cosmopolitan, to whatever social or public duties he was called upon to perform. This Asiatic even presumed to look at us and our boasted civilization somewhat critically. He, very likely, would echo the sentiment of his great leader, Chunder Sen, who, before he left England, said publicly, "One institution in England I have looked upon with a peculiar feeling of delight,—the happy English home, in which the utmost warmth and cordiality of affection and sympathy are mingled with the highest moral and religious restraint and discipline." "Yet," he adds, "it grieves me to find that the once crucified Jesus is crucified hundreds of times every day in the midst of Christendom. The Christian world has not imbibed Christ's spirit."

For years our chief interest in India has been associated with missionary work there, and our early conception of the Hindus was in connection with the grossest idolatries and superstitions: widow-burning, the throwing of infants into the Ganges, the huge car of Juggernaut, and the voluntary sacrifice of victims under those ponderous wheels,—these have been the pictures that have persisted in our imagination, and in our careless generalizations we have lumped all Hindus together as heathen of one type. These abuses still exist in certain parts of India, for, although the British Government abolished *suttee* in 1829, in remote districts to-day the Government is sometimes defied and *suttee* does take place. The same is true of infanticide and of the immolation of victims under the car of Juggernaut. But we have come to learn that under British rule and with the advantages of Government colleges there is a large class of educated natives who have entirely given up idolatrous practices, although they have not accepted Christianity. It has always been true in the religious history of India that when pantheistic and polytheistic ideas have been pushed to extremes a reaction has taken place towards monotheism. It must be remembered that some of the oldest hymns of the Rig-Veda are monotheistic, and I suppose that even the ordinary Hindu, who practises the most corrupt form of polytheism, would not deny the doctrine of God's unity, but would say that He is to be worshipped through an endless diversity of manifestations and material forms.

Doubtless under the Mogul dynasty the Hindus profited somewhat by the Mohammedan insistence that *God is One*. Later, since their contact with European ideas, there has been a great intellectual and moral quickening, and the leaders of thought among educated natives have openly

expressed their dissatisfaction with the national religion and their desire for a purer faith than that received from their fathers. This was the state of mind among scholarly and thoughtful natives half a century ago when a leader appeared in the person of Rammohun Roy, who may be regarded as the first bright example of the results of Christian influences and an English education. His father was a Brahmin of high caste and a devout worshipper of Vishnu. The son, while receiving a liberal education, was brought up as an orthodox Hindu. But he early rebelled against the absurdities of his father's religion and wrote a spirited tract against idolatry when only sixteen years old. Later he determined to investigate the different religions of the world. As he studied the Hindu Veda in Sanskrit, so he examined the Buddhist sacred books in the original Gali. He mastered Arabic that he might read the Koran, and Hebrew that he might study the Old Testament, and even began Greek that he might understand more thoroughly the New Testament. After his father's death he published more freely his views concerning the errors of Hinduism, endeavoring to show that the idolatry of the Hindus was contrary to the practice of their ancestors and to the sacred books which they professed to revere and obey.

Perhaps the most important work he accomplished was in proving that there was no authority in the Veda for the burning of widows, and petitioning the British Government to abolish this outrage.

Rammohun Roy found among his countrymen a few who sympathized with his theistic views and reformatory measures, and this led to the formation of a society in 1830, which was called the Brahmiya Somaj, or Society of Believers in God.

This was the first time that Hindus had ever met together for public worship and united prayer, and it was the dawn of a new era in the history of Indian religious thought. Rammohun Roy did not claim to have founded a new sect, but simply to have established the worship of the one God on such a basis that all castes, classes, and creeds could join. It is said that Eurasian boys used to sing the Psalms of David in English and Hindu musicians religious songs in Bengali.

It was one of the strict rules of this Society that no image or portrait should be admitted within the building, that no sacrifice should be offered there, and that nothing recognized as an object of worship by other men should be spoken of contemptuously. Rammohun Roy's sympathies were with the Unitarians, but he cultivated friendship with Christian missionaries of all denominations, assisted them in their translation of the Bible, and occasionally joined in their worship. He helped Dr. Duff in establishing his college in Calcutta, and recommended that the opening exercises of each day should commence with the Lord's Prayer, saying that in his wide acquaintance with the sacred books of all people he had

never found any other prayer so comprehensive and suitable to man's wants.

Rammohun Roy may be said to have begun the work for the elevation of the women of India in his warfare against *suttee* which resulted in its abolition. He visited England in 1831, and attracted much attention there by his enlightened views and courteous manners. He was the first native of rank and influence who had appeared on English soil. He was the guest of Dr. Carpenter, of Bristol, and very naturally excited the enthusiastic interest of Mary Carpenter, who was then just past twenty years of age. We all know how her sympathies were at that time deeply roused for the women of India, and though her numerous philanthropies kept her actively employed in England for forty years, yet, after she was sixty years of age, she twice made the journey to India to rouse public sentiment for the education and emancipation of India's daughters.

Rammohun Roy lived only two years and a half after reaching England, as he had not sufficient physical strength to endure the climate. Although a reformer and a professed theist, he died with the Brahmanical thread coiled about his person, and his Hindu servant performed the usual rites required by his master's caste.

The Brahmiya Somaj, thus bereft of its leader, languished for a time, but after a few years a successor was found in the son of a dear friend of Rammohun Roy's, Debendra Nath Tagore by name. Under him the Theistic Church was organized into a working system and began to exhibit missionary zeal. They sent out propagandists into various parts of the empire, and new societies were formed. Each one who joined a society of this kind bound himself to abstain from idolatry; to worship no created object, but to worship through the love of God, and through doing the works dear to God.

Tagore practically reconstructed the Somaj, carrying it on to a far higher level of spiritual development. He found that many who attended the services were idolaters at home, and, in fact, knew not what the spiritual worship of the one true God meant. He, however, bound himself and his friends by a solemn covenant to give up idolatry, and to cultivate the habit of daily prayer. Many were the privations and bitter the persecutions he had to suffer on account of this resolution. He describes in one of his lectures how he wandered away from his house in sun and rain on those days when the great goddess Durga would be worshipped by his parents and relatives, simply to avoid taking part in any idolatrous ceremony.

Before his time Brahmoism had existed as a mere matter of speculative thought. It was he who gave it the attractions of life, by teaching the secrets of prayer and spiritual communion. It was he who taught the Brahmos to worship God as the "Soul of their souls" and the "Life of their lives," and in his own devout person he showed the way.

At the dedication of their Prayer Hall, or Church, at Calcutta, in 1881, a statement of principles was read aloud in three languages successively, English, Bengali, and Indu, and was received by the assembled congregation with deep sympathy. It was announced that the catholicity of Brahmoism was to be preserved. No book or man was ever to be acknowledged as infallible, and the only way to salvation; nevertheless due respect was to be paid to all Scriptures and the good and great of all ages and all countries. The official statement of the principles of the Society contained these words:

> No man or class of men shall be here regarded as the elect or favorite of God, and the rest of mankind as lost to that favor. It shall be the object of all our preachings and discourses in this place to teach men and women to love God, to seek piety, to hate sin, to grow in devotion and spirituality, to promote purity among men and women, to uproot all social evils, and to encourage virtuous deeds. May the sinner find consolation and hope in this Hall, may the weak be strengthened, and may all who hunger and thirst find food and drink for their souls.

In 1847 the number of covenanted Brahmos amounted to something over seven hundred. A small number, you will say, in India's two hundred and fifty millions, but as in the corrupt Jewish days, so now in modern idolatrous India, seven hundred were found who would not bow the knee to Baal. With the accession of numbers there arose a conflict of opinions. It was affirmed that there was no intelligent knowledge of the authority of the Vedas, and therefore four young Brahmos were sent to Benares, each to study and copy out one of the four Vedas. After comparing them and examining them critically, a part of the Brahmos were inclined to accept and a part to reject their infallible authority. But still they kept their connection together, until there was developed within the Society a strong party who felt that a more complete reform was needed, and a more earnest protest against the national religion and degrading social customs.

At this crisis a new figure appeared on the scene in the person of Keshub Chunder Sen, then a clever, eloquent young man of twenty, just graduated from the Presidency College of Calcutta. Although Keshub had been brought up in an atmosphere of Hindu superstition and idolatry, his English education had destroyed his hereditary faith in the religion of his father. For a time he found nothing to fill the void thus created, but he had a devout nature and the Spirit of God led him to cultivate the habit of prayer. Soon he found peace and joy. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the Bible and other sacred books which helped him in his search for light, but he affirms that it was neither man, nor book, but God himself who led him out of darkness.

This accession to the Brahmo Somaj brought new life into all departments of that Society. For five years Keshub Chunder Sen worked with

Tagore, but his ardent, impulsive, enthusiastic spirit could not be kept longer in the background. It was not enough for him that the members of the Society had abjured idolatry. Hindu usages still remained, and this young reformer began to urge the abolition of caste restrictions and the abandonment of the sacred thread, which distinguished the Brahmos and higher caste from the lower. Tagore consented to this for himself, but he would not insist upon it with others. Then came the alteration of ceremonies connected with the worship of deceased ancestors and with ideas at variance with the Brahmo doctrine of a future state.

Next came efforts for the elevation and education of women, and they were urged to attend the religious meetings of the Somaj, worshipping at first either behind screens or in a separate room. Then the reformers attacked the marriage customs. They prohibited polygamy among their members; they advocated the remarriage of widows, although native public sentiment was so strong against this innovation that the first man who introduced it into his family narrowly escaped being stoned to death by his fellow-villagers. It is hard for us at this distance to appreciate the moral courage that is needed to attack so ancient and sacred an institution as marriage is among the Hindus. As Monier Williams says, "To remodel the institution of marriage is to reorganize the whole constitution of Indian society and to create an entirely new social atmosphere." The first question of interest to Hindu parents when a child is given them is not, How shall we educate this son or daughter for a career of eminence and usefulness? but, To whom shall we *marry* this child? When reforms in this institution were proposed by the progressive Brahmos, the conservatives were alarmed, and cried out at once, "What shall we do about marrying our children? If we cut our idolatry and lose caste we can get no matches made."

Moreover, the leaders of the reform not only proposed intermarriage between men and women of different castes, and the remarriage of widows,—both shocking ideas to the orthodox Hindu,—but they tried to abolish child-marriage, knowing that nothing has so deteriorated the nation morally and physically as this abominable system. They also advised that the marriage ceremony should be a simple religious form, instead of a prolonged and expensive festival. Sir Richard Temple speaks of attending a wedding festival in Bombay which extended over eight days and involved a tremendous outlay of money.

This succession of innovations was more than the conservative party and their leader, Debendra Nath, could endure. Moreover, it was discovered that the Brahmo marriages, not being in accordance with the spirit and letter of Hindu law, were illegal. This meant, of course, the illegitimacy of children and endless confusion in the descent and inherit-

ance of property. The Brahmos were obliged to petition the government for a legislative enactment legalizing their marriages. This memorial was strongly opposed by the Hindu community generally, and by the conservative Brahmos and their leader; but it was passed after four years of intense struggle and anxiety.

It was found after this experience that the two parties in the Brahmo Somaj could no longer work together harmoniously, and so the younger members seceded from the old Society in 1865, with Keshub Chunder Sen as their leader. Since that time there has been much devotional fervor and missionary zeal developed in this company of progressive Brahmos. The Hindu is more than all other Asiatics by nature deeply devout, and these theists find it not a duty so much as a delight to commune with the Divine Spirit in prayer. Every day they meet together and hold what we should consider a protracted prayer-meeting. Mozoomdar himself says that "prayer was felt by them to be a deep, abiding, intense necessity, such as could be wrung out only from the deep-seated wants of a sinful, penitent heart." And again he says, "Now, for the first time, in connection with the Brahmo Somaj, was witnessed the rare spectacle of sinful men, *bitterly* conscious of their sins, praying for their soul's salvation." Is not this vision of devout, worshipful souls communing with the Unseen and Eternal like an oasis in the desert, as contrasted with the dreary and often disgusting idolatries of the millions of Hindustan?

But you will ask, Where are the chief points of difference between their belief and ours? 1st. They do not believe in the inspiration of the Bible above that of any other so-called sacred book. They say, "The true Scriptures are two,—the volume of nature and the natural ideas implanted in the mind. The wisdom, power, and mercy of the Creator are written on the universe. All ideas about immortality and morality are primitive convictions rooted in the constitution of man." 2d. They do not believe, as we do, in the divinity of Christ. They say, "God himself never becomes man by putting on a human body. His divinity dwells in every man, and is displayed more vividly in some. Moses, Jesus Christ, Mohammed, and other great teachers appeared at special times and conferred vast benefits on the world. They are entitled to universal gratitude and love." Indeed, our doctrines of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ are stumbling-blocks to the native mind, and the Christian missionary often finds himself involved in most unprofitable discussions as to the comparative merits of the Hindu Triad and the European Trinity and the comparative evidence for the incarnation of Krishna and the incarnation of Christ. The uneducated native prefers, if he is to have a triad and an incarnation, to keep his own. The educated native thinks that triads and incarnations belong to a stage of mental develop-

ment which he has passed. This is the testimony of scholars, as well as missionaries, who have lived longest in India.

And what, you ask, will be the future of this theistic movement in India? So far, in their existence of half a century, they seem to have accomplished more in their destructive measures than in their constructive. In spite of their missionary efforts throughout India, they number less than three thousand. Their leader, Chunder Sen, has died, and their future will largely depend on his successor. It will be hard to find one to match him in organizing power, deep spirituality, and fascinating eloquence.

What have the reformers done for the women of India? You have seen how at the very beginning of the movement Rammohun Roy stirred up the Government to abolish *suttee*. Non-interference in religious matters is the English policy in India; but when Rammohun Roy proved to the officials that this immolation of widows is not enjoined by the Hindu sacred books, the Government very gladly prohibited the barbarous custom. But it was very hard for this early reformer to convert his mother to his theistic views. "Rammohun," she said to him, before she set out on her last pilgrimage to Juggernaut, where she died, "you are right; but I am a weak woman and am grown too old to give up these observances, which are a comfort to me." She maintained them with the most self-denying devotion. She did not allow a female servant to accompany her, or any provision to be made for her comfort or support on her journey, and when at Juggernaut she employed the remaining year of her life in sweeping the temple of the idols. Before she died, however, she expressed great sorrow for what had passed, and declared her conviction of the unity of God and the futility of Hindu superstition.

Mozoomdar says that one of the earliest and most important reforms effected by the *Brahmo Somaj* was the instilling of theistic principles into the minds of the women. Reformed religious ideas throwing light on the intellect aroused new desires, new aspirations. The women reflected on their moral, social, and intellectual condition. They wanted to know more, see more, enjoy more. They felt some foregleams of a better and brighter social destiny. But for ages, in Eastern countries, woman has been regarded from a physical, not from a moral nor intellectual point of view. She has been looked upon as a convenience, *not* as a companion. And now that the reformers have unlocked the doors of that ancient prison, the *zenana*, there is yet much embarrassment in giving women their rightful position. Mozoomdar himself makes this humiliating confession: "Our men," he says, "by a long course of training in vicious ideas about the other sex, are more or less unfit now to be allowed to mix with women, because they know not how to accord to them the manly and delicate treatment so natural with a great many Christian

people." Hindu ladies are also very shy and nerv[illegible] general society; but the young girls will be educated to a different social atmosphere, and so these disadvantages will wear away in time.

Sir Richard Temple says, "I know hundreds of educated natives whose grandmothers could not read at all, whose mothers could read but slightly, and whose wives can read and write imperfectly. But their daughters are being brought up with an education conducted upon the Western models."

Very recently a Woman's Club has been formed in Bombay by Mrs. Dr. Ryder, of New York City, who was the friend and travelling companion of Pundita Ramabai. It is called Sorosis, after the Woman's Literary Club of New York, of which Dr. Ryder is an honorary member. A Mohammedan, a Parsee, and a Hindu woman are the Vice-Presidents of the Association, while on the advisory board is the Bishop of Bombay, the Vicar-General of the Jesuits, and Bishop Thoburn of the Methodist Church. Dr. Ryder, like all new-comers to India, was oppressed by the narrow and hopeless condition of the native women, and she boldly conceived this idea of following Western methods in order to bring the women out. She inserted a notice in the Bombay papers that on a certain afternoon she would be glad to receive all women who would come to her with the purpose of forming a Woman's Club. English and American residents in Bombay were shocked at her audacity, and urged her to insert another notice giving up the subject, or defining what class of women should be admitted; but she determined to carry out her plans, and the results were most gratifying. Forty women of various creeds and nationalities came the first day, and now there is a membership of about two hundred. Twenty minutes at every meeting are devoted to a lecture on some distinguished woman, as Elizabeth Fry or our own Frances Willard. Recitations, music, of which there is a variety,—Persian and English, Arabic and Marathi,—and essays on such subjects as "The Ideal Home," "The Hygiene of the Home," etc., draw the shy creatures out from their chuddars and reserve, and so soon as they become familiar with the sound of their voices they evidently enjoy it. Technical education is also a part of Dr. Ryder's plan, and the motto of the club is, "The world was made for women too."

There is a society formed in Calcutta called the "Native Ladies' Institution," in which there are weekly lectures on history, natural theology, female biography, and natural philosophy. About fifty native ladies regularly attend these lectures.

There is another society, called the "Bengal Ladies' Association," which would remind one not a little of the women's clubs of Boston, although these Hindu ladies simply aspire to education and freer social intercourse. The address of the native lady president at their last meet-

ing was a most earnest appeal to the women present to rouse those of their sex who were still indifferent to education. She says, "It is from the absence of social intercourse that the condition of female society in Bengal is so wretched. We know nothing of each other's condition or disposition. Our seclusion has placed every kind of obstacle in the way of our progress. If society is to be reformed; if the lives of women are to be elevated, they must associate." And she closes her speech by saying, "The cultivation of the mind is true civilization. The true aim in woman's life is the display of good feeling. God will help her who, remembering all this, enters upon her work."

It is a little amusing to notice how even the most liberal-minded Hindus regard the awakening of the women of India; their restlessness under restrictions, and their demand for education and larger liberty. Even those reformers who most zealously advocate female education are not quite prepared to have it carried to that degree which will develop *self-assertion.* They would like to have their women combine such mental culture as will make them agreeable companions with unmurmuring submission and uncritical devotion. Their highest conception of a wife is such an one as Tennyson describes:

> "Her faith is fixed and cannot move,
> She darkly feels him great and wise;
> She dwells on him with faithful eyes;
> I cannot understand—I love."

One of the Dutts of Calcutta, a family distinguished for their broad culture, writing on Hindu female education, says, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee. These words describe yet woman's peculiar lot in the East; and she should be qualified for that condition well." Mr. Dutt thinks the proper order in which an Eastern woman should be educated is, first, morally; because if she falls into sin she can never regain her lost name and rank. Her second need is for domestic instruction, so that she may become possessed of a good methodical knowledge of household work and be able at the same time to carry the family through all its straits and difficulties. In the third place she should have enough of a literary education to be an intelligent companion to her husband. Ornamental education comes last in this plan, and this is to be decried, because, as Mr. Dutt says, "Bad as the condition of woman in India is, we would rather wish her to continue in it than that she should receive the sickly and sentimental devotion which it is the fashion in Europe to render to her." This broad-minded Asiatic has the large hope that within a few decades the Hindu woman may become, in her own secluded apartment, as intelligent a wife and as useful a mother as any in Christendom!

We will trust the women of India, if they have the opportunity of education, to take the place Providence designs to give them for their greatest influence and widest usefulness. Let them be developed to the utmost of their capacity, socially, intellectually, religiously; and the ignorance and gross superstition which have been engendered and fostered in the zenanas and instilled into the minds of children from their earliest years will melt away as the mists of the morning vanish before the sun, and the women of India will learn the doctrine of equality in Christianity, and that there is in Christ Jesus neither male nor female.

The President then presented Miss Florence Balgarnie, of England, a delegate bearing fraternal greetings from large organizations of her countrywomen. Miss Balgarnie spoke as follows, in response to the applause with which she was received:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I do indeed feel it to be a moment of extreme pleasure to have the honor to be present here at a meeting of the women of great America. I have been in America only a short time and yet I almost feel like an American. I have brought a message of love and congratulation from those women in England who have not yet been accepted into the full rights of citizenship. We in England have watched the struggle in Wyoming, and we are proud to realize that at last, in one of the States of America, the women have, like men, been admitted to the fullest rights of citizenship. I have been delegated by bodies of women representing nearly ninety thousand to offer these congratulations. Among those bodies, you may like to hear, are the British Women's Temperance Association, of which Lady Henry Somerset is the honored president. "A million women," Mr. Pearsall said, "are now rendering service in our country." The other bodies are composed of various societies for the promotion of women's suffrage. Among the societies also is numbered the Women's Peace and Arbitration Society; and last, but not least, the Women's Liberal Federation of Great Britain, of which Mrs. Gladstone is president.

It would be impossible for me, in the few moments which I have at my command, to say enough to enable you to realize the deep interest and the feelings of profound sympathy which we women in England have for the women of America, and the joy we feel in the magnificent strides which they are making. We are watching the women of America, and we rejoice to find a Church in this country with fully ordained women preachers. We have not reached that pinnacle as yet; though we have a preacher,—or rather *had* one, Catharine Booth, who was lately followed to the grave by mourning thousands. But we have not admitted women

to the churches in that capacity as yet. I have come to learn from American women how these things can best be done; and I shall upon returning to England encourage my fellow-countrywomen to follow in your footsteps in this great march of progress. (Applause.)

MISS WILLARD. We have present with us this evening, and will have a word from, Miss Mary Burdette, a delegate from the Woman's Baptist Home Missionary Society, and a sister of a certain Robert J. Burdette.

BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.

MISS MARY BURDETTE. I represent a society of women, organized fourteen years ago to teach humanity, to alleviate suffering, and to inculcate morality in homes. And so the Society is a "Home" Missionary Society in a double sense. It has been said that the women in the United States of America have made a mistake in the work of their Home Missionary Societies because they have not done their work in the homes of the people. We work for the elevation and Christianization of the homes of our land. We want good mothers everywhere, no more in France than in America, and therefore we work for the elevation and the Christianization of all of the mothers in the homes. We take the Gospels to their homes and their hearthstones. We teach them to keep in touch with the progress of Christianity, and to keep clean homes, clean hearts, and clean lives.

I would like, if I could, to illustrate the manner in which this missionary society of America teaches lessons, daily and hourly, of social purity in these homes. I remember to have attended a meeting of colored women in Iowa, and at the close of the services one of the congregation remarked, in her uneducated way, "Did you ever hear the like? She just uncovered the whole thing."

We are teaching the girls to help their mothers. We have over two hundred consecrated and active young women, representing nine different nationalities, in one of our classes. Our Society is a woman's society, is entirely managed by women, and for fourteen years has never yet closed a year with a debt. We not only close the year without a deficit, but with a balance in our treasury; and when we bought a school-building, we had the cash to pay down and to meet all the bills. We believe that as a society we should owe no one anything but love to one another.

MISS WILLARD. We will now have the pleasure of listening to Mrs. Blackall, of Philadelphia, a delegate from the same Society as that represented by Miss Burdette. You have all heard of the American Baptist Publication Society, which is under the care of Dr. and Mrs. Blackall.

BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.

MRS. BLACKALL. I am glad to say that I am the representative of that great, broad, consistent, open denomination known as the Calvinistic Baptists. I do not know as we have an ordained woman preacher in the denomination, but if we have not, the reason is not such as was given by our friend in the early part of the evening, in speaking of women in the Methodist Church. Every one of the churches in our denomination is absolutely independent, and you will see it is impossible for us to have any secretary of our denomination, and, therefore, it is not the influence of the secretary or any ecclesiastical officer that has kept our people from doing what they might choose to do. We are absolutely free in our churches. I am also happy to say that I believe this Society has been conducted as independently as it is possible to conduct a society of women. It has been an absolutely independent organization from the first; and for fifteen years almost it has been carrying on this work without ever having a debt or a deficit. The accounts of its treasurer have been as accurate, clear, and business-like as that of any organization, whether composed of men or women.

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

MRS. M. E. WHITMORE. What a delightful privilege to live in the nineteenth century!

Thirty years ago, when the United States was writhing in agony, God sent to her an angel of mercy, *Abolition!* Swiftly she entered the Southland, and with one stroke of the hammer the shackles of slavery fell. There will be more shackles falling by and by.

Fifteen years ago, when creation was again groaning within herself, there stepped forth another evangel, *Prohibition.* Higher and still higher she has raised her powerful arm. At last it begins to descend; and presently, after one mighty thud, the world shall proclaim, "King Alcohol is dead!"

But to-day there looms up before us another wonderful presence, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners. Its influence is world-wide. Its name is written in unmistakable characters upon this assembly, *Coalition.* The full meaning of this word and this movement we shall know only when Christ shall have reconciled the world unto himself; when there shall be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female; but all shall be one in Christ Jesus.

But the foregoing were simple object-lessons of the great movements, *Abolition* of the sin which enslaves, *Prohibition* of the curse that follows on, *Coalition* of the nations in Christ as their King. O wonderful spirits of the nineteenth century! stay with us till the new heavens and the new earth appear, for your work is only begun.

As a fraternal delegate to this great Coalition party, the "Woman's National Council," I beg leave to report that the women of the Reformed Church in the United States are waking up. "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" has been ringing through the length and breadth of Zion. And though no man hath hired us, most gladly we are entering the vineyard, at the call of the Master himself.

The first auxiliary Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Church was organized in Xenia, Ohio, so late as June, 1875. We have been slow. But, sisters, I read, "There are sleepers whose waking is terrible." Therefore we take courage. In June, 1887, the W. M. S. G. S. was organized in Akron, Ohio. Many auxiliary societies, Synodical, Classical, and Congregational, have been organized since.

This Society of the women of General Synod held its first triennial meeting last June at Lebanon, Pennsylvania.

Since that time we have been making an effort to organize the women of the whole Reformed Church for aggressive work. This will take time; and I humbly ask the prayers of the Council in behalf of this movement and upon our work in general.

The object of our organization is to aid in the advancement of the work of Christian missions in home and foreign lands, with a view especially to the enlightenment and elevation of woman.

We are just now, besides our home work, making an effort to send another lady teacher to our girls' school in Sendai, Japan. Our plan of work has not yet been completed. We are just taking a fresh start, and our brethren say we are making it pretty hot for them; but, better hot than lukewarm. May God revive his work, and bless, and direct, and prosper this National Council of Women!

THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY UNION OF FRIENDS.

HANNAH J. BAILEY. I gladly bring to you the sincere and affectionate fraternal greetings of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends in America.

We are probably the youngest organization represented here. Our union was first organized in the fifth month of last year. We number about seven thousand women, who are banded together to yield obedience to the command of our Saviour, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Our Missionary Union is composed of nine yearly Meeting Boards,—viz., New York, New England, Philadelphia, Ohio, Western Iowa, Kansas, North Carolina, and Canada.

Some of these auxiliaries have been working in foreign fields several years, hence we already have missions planted in Syria, Palestine, China, Japan, Mexico, and Jamaica. We have also assisted missions and mission-

aries of other churches in Africa, India, and the islands of the sea. We have an Indian department, and have missions in Alaska and Indian Territory.

By our constitution we are required to hold triennial meetings. Our present presiding officer is Mrs. Phebe S. Aydelott, of Massachusetts. Mrs. Eliza C. Armstrong, of Indiana, is Corresponding Secretary, and, also, is editor of *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, the organ of the Union.

I hope we will become auxiliary to this grand Council of Women before your next triennial meeting, and we hope, meanwhile, to do all we can to elevate woman in the dark places of the earth where she is esteemed to be, not "a little lower than the angels," but a little lower than the animals.

We want to do our part towards hastening the time when the "knowledge of the Lord will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea," and when every nation, kindred, tongue, and people shall "bring forth the royal diadem and crown Jesus Lord of all."

MISS WILLARD. We will next hear from Mrs. E. S. Burlingame, of the National Free-Will Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

NATIONAL FREE-WILL BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

E. S. BURLINGAME. During the last half-decade, in which nearly all the Women's Societies have been organized, we organized the Society of the Free-Will Baptists to take the place of the department work in that Church. From that time to this it has been going forward, doing a growing work in the foreign and home field, but doing at the same time a greater work in our churches than it has done in those other fields of work, and it has been busy in placing our women in touch with the life of the world.

When we had fairly started in our work, the question arose whether we should occupy a position in the parent society, or a co-ordinate position. It was soon decided that we should act separately, and during all these later years not only were our missionaries, when selected, submitted by us to the other Board, but its missionaries were equally submitted to the decisions of our Board. It has naturally grown from this that the question of uniformity in the work has come to be actively discussed in the Church, and our brothers have shown a willingness to do all that we might ask. At the last June Conference seven women from our Society were cordially received into that body and were given places on the committees, and were able to meet all the requirements connected with their duties just as well as their brothers of the committee.

But I want to say that events have opened up new fields for us, and it may be explained that it has practically caused a revolution in missionary work. Fifty years ago, when missionaries were sent to the other side of

the world, it took them six months to reach China or India. The conditions are now being reversed. The nations of the world are sending their inhabitants to our shores, and that means that there is missionary work to be done at our very doors.

I was asked recently, "How many Armenians have you in Providence?" I answered that I did not know, and was told that there were certainly two hundred. I have thought that when we were sending missionaries to Armenia, they ought to be better prepared and of high character. We want men healthy in body, whose minds are able to grasp everything that is necessary, and whose souls are so devoted to the work as to thoroughly establish them in their fields. The question is, What shall we teach these people morally? There is a work to do to interest women in the auxiliary work, and right in this country. We feel that we have come to that point where we want to introduce everywhere such questions as this (and it is to be considered in the next meeting): "What relation does the field we occupy have to the elevation of the race?" Questions of this kind are to be brought up and considered, and we want the women to be educated so as to be embraced in this new line of thought.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1891.

Morning Session.

TEMPERANCE.

THE PRESIDENT. Let us come to order, please, and we will opening song for this morning,—the tune that we all know and tune of "The Old Oaken Bucket, the iron-bound bucket," e words are written by Mrs. Mary Frost Ormsby, who will sing then Ormsby is of Sorosis, and when she was with us three years agc not in sympathy with the temperance movement, but she was so i at the time of the Council that she went home and organized a temperance boys; so she has suited the action to the word, and all be interested to hear this solo.

After prayer by Mrs. Sarah D. La Fetra, Presi the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the of Columbia, the President said,—

I do not know what may have been in your minds and hea friends, as we sang together that sweet old song, but I know my v heart were tremulous with the thought and the feeling and the im "If some that I love best had always been content to drink fron oaken bucket that hung in the well, happier would have been and life and home." This is a subject that goes so deep with u a certain depth all hearts communicate and all souls are one. gives us greater *rapport* than the sense of a common sorrow, a danger, a common hope. We are here this morning to repre cause of temperance, and we have upon the programme so ma and true.

The first name on the programme is that of J. Ellen Foster associated with constitutional prohibition, a voice that has rung that cause in every State of the Republic. Mrs. Foster will spe "The Non-Partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance U

NON-PARTISAN NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE U

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER. Jesus of Galilee, the Divine Chri "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even them." This is the authority and this is the philosophy upon w

Temperance Reform stands to-day. It is chief among the reforms which distinguish this reformatory period. I am honored that I may at the first hour this morning present the work and represent the Society whose name you have heard from the lips of our honored President.

The Non-Partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, January, 1889. This is therefore the first opportunity to present its work before so distinguished an audience as is the one here assembled. It hopes, however, at many times to have this privilege, for it considers itself not unworthy of comradeship among so honored a company of workers as is this assembled here. We try His Works to do whose Name we bear and in His Name.

The impulse which brought this Society into being was the crusade of 1874-75. Many of our workers and officers and many of the recognized leaders of this Society were baptized at crusade altars. They took joyfully the spoiling of their goods and counted not their lives dear unto them so that they might render faithful and effective service. They were members, and charter members we may say, of the much loved and greatly honored National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. They were counsellors at its round table, they were communicants at its altars, they were honored, trusted, recognized, and guaranteed as the exponents of that work. They went on with this beautiful sisterhood, preaching the duality of doctrine, which has always been to the women of America—total abstinence for the individual, and prohibition for the State.

Between the years 1874 and 1884 there were harmony of views and concert of action concerning the work of this Society, at least upon all essential features of that work.

In 1884, guided by the supposed teachings of the past, and influenced by the political vicissitudes of the hour, a large majority of the ladies of the Society determined by resolution and otherwise official action to adopt the policy of giving the influence of the Society to one political party, which said party declared in its platform for prohibition, and which they believed would surely protect their homes. This gave occasion for the formation of the Society which I represent.

After five years of deliberation, for it was very hard to leave the house which we had helped to build, and to break the ties which were stronger than any other, except those of the home and those cemented at the altars of the church,—after five years of deliberative action, a small minority, quite small in the convention, but large among the women of the local Unions, felt the "must" of the Gospel. Jesus said, "I must do the work. I must suffer." These women took their position, which was the position of the crusade, and went where the Spirit led.

During these years the great body of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union had grown from its humble beginning at crusade altars

to be a great organization with salaried officers, with a great publishing house, with a great paper, with magnificent prestige, and with effective organization machinery. This organization had grown as the Methodist Church has grown from the times of the Wesleys until now. This little minority was being crushed. It could not be otherwise in the nature of things. It was an irritant. It was a disturber of the peace, as we remember the truth has always been, and in the deliberations which followed and the actions which resulted, the little company went out and organized what is now a small Society which stands for a great truth. When forced to this position, we felt our comradeship with Luther and Wesley. I felt my comradeship with my sainted father, who felt himself compelled during the early years of the Abolition movement to leave the Methodist Episcopal Church because he considered it occupied an unworthy position on the question of African slavery. With a few others he organized the Wesleyan connection in America.

On and on we have gone as a little company in the great body of temperance workers. Our creed is as it always was,—total abstinence for the individual, and prohibition for the State, following as a logical consequence.

We have no sympathy with and will not advocate license laws. We have always spoken against any form of license laws as a delusion and a snare; they do not do what their friends hope of them. They are the real allies of the liquor traffic.

We believe local option to be essentially right, though limited in the area of its operation. We believe the final legislative remedy for the evils of intemperance will be constitutional prohibition with enforcing statutes in the State and in the Nation. This is our creed as given in the constitution and in the platform of principles put forth at the first meeting which I have referred to, in Cleveland.

We are a body of Christian women who are total abstainers. We desire to teach the children and to pledge young women to purity in life and total abstinence in action and to secure the banishment of intemperance. Bishop Thorold of the English Church says, "Truth is not only power but a trust." We dare not withhold that which God has told to us. We earnestly desire to secure the utter annihilation of the liquor traffic in the State and in the Nation; it is because we desire this that we leave every individual member of our organization absolutely free to choose her party alliance and to follow her political convictions. If we had not had these convictions, we should still repose in the bosom of the Society we so much loved.

Daughters of the Revolution, and sisters and daughters and wives of the late awful conflict in our own country, when the blood of the North and the South were mingled in the same grave, we should have forfeited

our own self-respect if we had smothered our convictions and acquiesced in plans we considered wrong.

We believe that absolute political liberty is as much the right of a woman as it is the right of a man. We believe also that a woman's influence stands to her in place of the ballot. No company of men would submit to have their ballots pledged for them by any convention, and we could not submit that our influence should be pledged by a majority vote. So much on the side of the individual. On the side of the work,—we deem it wrong to ally ourselves to one party, because we realize that in all the parties are men good and true. When we went to the Capitol, we found Senator Blair, that great and good man, in sympathy with us. We are sorry he is not to be there at the next Congress, although we are glad to know that the man who succeeds him is a temperance man. On the other side of the chamber we met Senator Colquitt, a Democrat, equally our friend and in sympathy with us. In the House of Representatives we met the Iowa delegation, the Kansas delegation, and the Maine delegation, and among other individual Members friendly to us we met Congressmen Crisp and Stewart, of Georgia, just as true as the men from Iowa, Kansas, and Maine, and as they were brothers believing with us, we thought it bad faith to ask these men to help us, and then combine in the next election to defeat them. Thus we found ourselves necessarily limited by the duties imposed upon us, and we chose to be a little few rather than do the thing which seemed to us wrong.

There has been injected into this controversy a spirit of personality wholly alien to the real subject under consideration. Some small souls have imputed to us of the Non-Partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, personal ambition and personal opposition to the ladies with whom we have been associated in loving communion for so many years. I repudiate as unworthy of attention or answer these insinuations. I express pity, however, for persons who make such insinuations. When they do this they declare themselves ignoble, and stand convicted of the pettiness and injustice which they impute to us.

Permit me at this time to say that yesterday I heard the honored President of this Society give her ideal group of statuary to be put in the Queen Isabella Temple at the Columbian Exhibition at Chicago. When she said, in it there should be represented Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Mary A. Livermore, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Julia Ward Howe, my heart responded and my lips have since uttered, "Frances E. Willard should be there also; I think it would be incomplete without her."

During the last year we have achieved some conquests in legislation in the interests of temperance, but, since I am almost through my thirty minutes, I must hasten on and can refer to but little. I want to speak of

the Original Package Bill adopted by the present Congress, which brought relief from the Original Package Saloon. It had invaded not only prohibitory States, but local option territory as well. We remember this legislation with great pleasure. We are glad also to record the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States sustaining the right of the States to control the traffic in intoxicating liquors in their borders.

Permit me also to speak of another good work accomplished. Early in the present administration a representative of this Society visited the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, the late William Windom, in the interests of a better exercise of Government supervision at the port of New York City, known as Castle Garden. We knew it was his intention to terminate the contract which had existed between the Government and the Board of Commissioners of the State of New York who had in charge the emigrant system. We knew that intoxicating liquors were sold there. We knew that a horde of vultures were licensed to come in as boarding-house-keepers, hotel-keepers, etc. This representative of our Society said to Mr. Windom, "Do take care of our girls, our poor immigrant women. Let the Government guarantee safety to the possessions of immigrant men and the character of immigrant women, and let no intoxicating liquors be sold there in the territory under the control of the United States Government."

Mr. Windom said to that representative, "Madam, I am quite as interested to have that work done as I am anything in my administration. I will promise you there shall be no liquor sold there, and that wherever I can find a place for a good woman to protect immigrant women, I will put her there."

You may be sure, ladies, that my heart swelled within me to hear these words from a man who had the disposition and the power to execute them. He was a good man and a temperance man. His widow never offers wine in her beautiful home. I ask your tender sympathy for her in this hour of her desolation and your prayers that she may be comforted by the widow's God. Sisters, at the very hour in New York City when he was passing away a little company of women who are present to-day were on their knees thanking God for Mr. Windom's work, and at that hour the angels were carrying him home. Go to Castle Garden, in the adjoining building, the Barge Office,—go down and ask them to show you about. Not a drop of liquor to be sold. The greatest care exercised. I asked a lady missionary there, "Could anything better be done? Can you think of any arrangement which would be helpful in your work?" She answered, "I cannot think of any improved regulation." What the wit of an anxious woman cannot ask for is not worth having.

Mr. Windom was great, and good, and kind. It is to be hoped that the newly-appointed secretary may carry out the policy of the past.

Ladies of the Council, I present the salutation of the Non-Partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to you as representing varied lines of Christian work. In all these lines that bear the name of Christ, or do not bear His name but are wrought in His Spirit, we are at one. Whatever you do for humanity is Christian work; for Christ was humanity's Son. He was the Son of Man as well as the Son of God. Whatever you do in His Name you do it by the influence of His Spirit. When you stand for the political enfranchisement of women, or other political advancement, not distinctively Christian, you are working in His Name, for in His Gospel there is neither male nor female. When you go among the sick and dependent classes, when you gather up pauper children (pardon me, there are no pauper children, for God is the Father of all the children), you are doing it by the inspiration of their Elder Brother who took little children in His arms and blessed them. And you, my sisters, who are engaged in the battle for Labor, for the working-men of the country, should remember that the Carpenter of Galilee, the Workman of Nazareth, is the best friend the working-man ever had,—He who in the carpenter-shop worked with His father, He who in the home was obedient to His mother. His Gospel wrought into national economics and national law shall work their redemption. I salute you all in His Name. We are all standing together and working by the power which He gives us. In the glorious years which are to come, it will not be known to what little regiment, to what little subdivision of this great army we belonged. Let every woman respect the conscientious convictions of every other woman. This is Liberty. It is Liberty under the Flag and Liberty under the Cross, and the time shall come, my sisters, when every tongue shall confess Him and every knee shall bow to Him. Then shall the race shake off these relics of barbarism. I yield to you what I ask for myself, absolute liberty in expression of opinion and freedom of action. I claim that any abridgment of this is a violation of the spirit of political liberty which underlies the Republic, and that it is contrary to the Gospel of Christ. Absolute liberty under the Flag and under the Cross I claim for myself, and I yield to you.

There often comes to me a vision of what the world will be when this reform shall have been accomplished. What will the race be then! How tall and strong our men will be! How clear-brained when this curse of rum with all its entailments shall be removed! And by the side of the man shall stand the woman. She will be tall too, strong too. Her muscle and nerve and brain will be as strong as his, but not like his. Not superior, but equal; strong and clear and steady and true. It is for this equality we plead, not for similitude; and the time shall come, and you and I are to help it on. God give us grace to do it better than ever before, because we have mingled our voices together.

We are yours for humanity in His Name.

THE PRESIDENT. Next on the programme comes the address of our delegate from the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. As you know, every National Society is entitled to a delegate upon the payment of one hundred dollars once in three years, and being voted in by the Council, and voting itself in on its own part, becomes a member of the Council. Most of the Societies here present are here under the representation of fraternal delegates.

We shall hear now the subject "The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union," from the speaker, Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap, whose name is so well known to you.

THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

MRS. MARY T. LATHRAP. Without controversy the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union brings to the galaxy of organizations which compose this Council a character and history at once unique and impressive.

No association represented has touched so many springs of praise and blame, of love and hate, and become equally distinguished for the friends it has won and the enemies it has made; proof of the effectiveness of the mission undertaken lies easy to find on the very surface of things. Cursed at the bar of the legalized saloon; hissed on the floor of the Beer Brewers' Congress; scorned by conventions of political parties; misrepresented by the all-powerful press; denied its prayer in halls of legislation; sneered at in palaces of fashion, where the wine-glass tempts to destroy; criticised by conservative pulpits; and unwelcome often even in the Christian church, it has been left to this organization of ballotless women to arouse all classes of opposers and find for themselves the hate of hate. Then, on the other hand, blessed by the fevered lips of the drunkard ready to perish; sought by the wandering feet of the boy or girl who went astray; hallowed by loving thought at thousands of firesides; baptized with holy tears by the mothers whose battle it wages; perfumed by the stainless prayers of the little children; endorsed by the expressed principles of organized Christianity; sustained by the highest and freshest authorities in the scientific world; praised by lips grown careful through statesmanlike speech; believed in by the best, trusted by the most needy, it has been granted them also to find the "love of love."

We may ask, therefore, the uttermost doubter and stoutest opponent to acknowledge in all fairness that the Society at this moment represented has been and is a force in the Nation's life, worthy of candid consideration. It has touched the home, the school, the church, the political and legislative powers of the whole country, until the shore-marks of its influence are wide as the Republic. Born an evangel to the abject, the

smitten, and the broken-hearted, the first songs of its holy crusade were of Christ and a better life, and were sung by sweet voices that never wavered; at the very "jaws of death and the mouth of hell."

To-day this gentle evangel has come like Elijah at the court of Ahab, to be the severe-browed prophet of an evil time, when a guilty Nation sets up a throne of iniquity by law and gathers her revenues from the slaughter of her people.

No one can understand a great moral, intellectual, and patriotic force, such as is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, without considering the conditions which demanded its being, and the power which controls and gives method to its actions.

Real reforms are always more divine than human, and are ushered in by a revelation to souls prepared to understand and heroic enough to do the will of God.

Less than half a century ago Wendell Phillips stood in his lonely place which no man coveted, and said to this Nation, "God alone is God, and truth is truth," and then lived up to his preaching. When he was mobbed for opinion's sake, and hissed in the forum of public debate, he stood still and let the battle break sometimes around him, sometimes over his head, but he came to his own at last.

You remember how he lay in state in the historic hall which had resounded to the notes of that long struggle, while a century with its living and its dead pronounced judgment on that finished life.

Abroad were murmurs of reverent praise,
  And tenderest dew of tears,
While suddenly, then, old thoughts were stirred
  That silent had lain for years;
Till at the shrine of a dead man's face,
  The thought of the world grew clear.

They brought him again to the plain old hall—
  Cradle of liberty's lore;
How silent the lips that with golden speech
  Had filled it in days of yore!
And into the stillness with blossoms sweet
Halted the world with its tardy feet,
  And crowned him for evermore.

Of the divinity which bore him through the struggle of the great anti-slavery reform his own lips testified, when only a few hours before his death he said, "Nothing but the spirit of Christ has enabled me to suffer and endure what I have."

It is vain to attempt the explanation of certain lives, or certain great movements which lift humanity to higher levels and leave out the super-

natural; and no observer, however thoughtful or kindly, is judge fairly the beginning and evolution of the Society o Ribbon unless he understands the word *enthusiasm* accor Greek, which means "God in us," and not according to t which signifies "A swarm of people with us."

Given, then, the divinity which "shapes our ends, rou how we will," the conditions which had ripened for this p and agency are of great interest.

A decade after the close of the Civil War the Woma startled the nation, compelled attention, and defied ridicule.

For many years before that first shot at Sumter which "h the world," the entire attention of the country had been e the great discussion which led up to the final conflict, and c had been forgotten in the one absorbing theme.

The doctrine of total abstinence for the individual, v foundation of the temperance reform, had not been largely the attention of old or young by any authoritative and unive The scales had not yet fallen from the eyes of science, and ards were not sharply defined, even by the Church. Into th loose drift of opinion broke the Civil War; money grew moved rapidly, blood was hot, society disorganized, while ca life benumbed the tenderness of conscience, broke up the nic cation and habit, and opened to the flower of a nation's n doors of recklessness and self-indulgence. What wonde appetite often conquered the conqueror, until at the very fea celebrated our victories there stood with muffled face anothe

Before the war was finished the Government seized up modity of the saloon and the drunkard, figured its percer gains from the vices of the people, and in 1863 the liquor tr the throne of *Revenue*. Ever since that day this cruel, vici American power has held in its hand at once a sceptre and those who bow to its demands and do its bidding, the exte of money, preferment, and power; for those who hesitate lash of its scorpion-like vengeance. During its legalized ele whipped political parties like spaniels to its feet; scourged g of their places, from the United States Senate down; driven sentatives in other nations to act as drummers for the comm cowed some pulpits and the majority of the Christian mar country into silence or subserviency; cracked its whip over lative hall, and an outraged ballot-box; until to-day it is our civilization.

It was near the beginning of this reign of iniquity that Christian Temperance Union took its place among the mor

forces of the century. It is to be noted, however, that the legal status of the liquor traffic was not for a long time closely related to this new movement. The blow which aroused the womanhood of the country was struck farther back in the most sacred places of a nation's life. At the altars of home manhood lay smitten, the fire went out on the hearthstone, the light of hope and love died in the heart, and mothers, wives, and little children paid the revenue in hunger, tears, and often blood.

No strong voice from its high places rebuked the Republic for its growing shame; the war debt must be paid, if drunkards' graves were hallowed and hearts made desolate.

It was these awful *results* of the liquor traffic which first aroused our women; the great hurt of drunkenness was the misery they sought to heal,—a hurt wide as our populations, the moan and pain of which were everywhere.

It is not strange, then, that the first work of this organization should have been intensely evangelical. The saloon door was besieged with pleading and prayer; the drunkard was sought and drawn from the very verge of ruin; neglected childhood felt the mother-touch long denied it; while the pledge, the reform club, the friendly inn, and the ribbons—white, red, and blue—were the tokens of a marvellous faith, the centre of which was Christ, the hope of the drunkard.

This holy Crusade into the slum kingdom where King Alcohol held his court was thought by most of the world to be a somewhat heroic and noble thing, if people's taste ran that way.

But the years went by and drunkenness was not cured; indeed, the *pro rata* consumption of intoxicating drinks increased, and, although a few were saved, the great tide of destruction swept on.

Dealing with a result, while a cause which may be touched remains unrebuked, is the work of the foolish or insincere, and the temperance women were neither; so patriotism came to stand by evangelism in the great contest.

It must be remembered that at no previous time were the women of the nation so well prepared to study political conditions and form political opinions as in the years just after the war. The doors of a higher education had been thrown open, giving to them the outlook of cultured minds. With the going of the men to the battle-field and to death, the farm, the shop, and the store, as well as the home, were left to the hands of women, so they were thrust by thousands into business life; then when the cost of the nation's struggle came to be counted, it was found that its women had freely laid on the altar such costly gifts that all past relations were changed. Thinkers, tax-payers, and unwilling partners in the cost of evil legislation, the women of the country could not stand idly by when another danger was being grown by law and not rebuke it.

Patiently these women sought to solve in the realm of morals and religion the problem of the drunkard's relation to his own overwhelming appetite, and to cure the land of drunkenness. But ten years of experience from the drunkard to the saloon; from the saloon to Government; from Government to the political party; and from the political party to the voter whose choice is law, brought these gentle reformers to the yet more difficult problem of the relation of the powers that be to the drunkard's *legalized temptation.*

Who is responsible? Where is the guilt? was the question pressed always to an answer, until it was found that the saloon, the Government, the party, and the voter were all in agreement.

We do not mean agreement of character, these were often wide apart, but they were agreed upon success: the saloon to perpetuate itself; the Government to get the revenue; the party to get the Government; the politician to secure the spoils of office, and the voter to shout on the winning side. While the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the evangel of the slums, it won the praise of the world; since it stood a prophetess at the gates of the palaces and legislative halls of the Nation to rebuke the powers that be, from the ballot-box to the Senate, for legalizing that which creates the slums, it has been counted worthy of thorns and stripes.

I pause at the threshold of the great discussion concerning the political attitude of this organization; but here within sight of the white shrine of the Capitol dome, I say solemnly, "God dealt once with this Nation for the sin of enslaving the bodies of men, and the scars of that smiting are yet upon us; how much more shall He come from the hidings of His power when our sin is the enslaving of souls!"

"Somewhere beneath the vaulted sky,
Somewhere beneath the slumbering sod,
Wrath broods her thunders ere they fly;
Pale Justice steels her chastening rod;
When wealth and power have had their hour,
Comes, for the weak, the hour of God."

ELEMENTS OF POWER.

From this review of conditions which called for the rise and progress of the organization, we turn now to certain elements of power which make it notable. Without controversy the greatest has been its evangelism, of which mention has already been made; but as women are yet on trial in some fields of endeavor, we wish specially to note certain other forces which have made for achievement and success in seventeen years of endeavor "for God, and home, and every land."

First are the *exceptional principles*, espoused, and held with rare and courageous fidelity.

It is not strange that the radicalism of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is often called in question, for the reason that the principles back of that radicalism are so little understood. Distinctions are being clouded by the sophistry of the hour. Men and women profess to believe in temperance, and yet put wine on their tables and drink socially before others to their harm, and these moderate users of alcoholic beverages insist that only excess is wrong. A political party may declare belief in temperance and morality, and yet stand for the perpetuation of the saloon by law. The high creed of the White Ribbon sweeps far beyond these positions.

We are more than temperance people. We are *total abstainers*. That means an utter banishment from our lips and homes of any beverage of which alcohol is the centre, and with a large majority of our women it means its banishment even as a medicine. This is not the result of a prejudice narrow and unreasonable, for years of earnest study have cleared away the mists, and science is with our position. It is the man who drinks that is shut up to the ignorance of the past. Dr. Benjamin Richardson, of England, was a drinker when the London physicians assigned to him the task of investigating the action of alcohol on living tissues. He took a year for his experiments and came out a total abstainer; his science had convicted his conscience and controlled his life.

What are the steps to a radical total abstinence? These are some of them: Alcohol is a poison. It is never a necessity in health; is of doubtful utility in medicine. It creates an appetite for itself by its effect on the body. It breaks down the physical nature, poisoning the blood, unsettling the nerves, wearing out the heart, and making the drinker liable to disease. Alcohol goes further and attacks the moral nature. It gnaws at the stomach, conquers the will, and enslaves the victim. Not a relation in life can be thought of which is not marred and dishonored by the victim of drink.

Then the poison in the blood of one generation goes on to the next, until even a Nation comes to stagger under the burden of inherited appetite. These disasters are not simply possible, but probable, in the case of all men and women who trifle with this danger. It is not with us a question of wine *vs.* whiskey, or beer *vs.* brandy, not of quantity, but of the choice of the moral nature in face of a monstrous evil. We believe in presence of the light of to-day that drinking is a sin *per se*, breaking God's law of personal safety and the sacredness of the body which is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and doing harm by example in all relations to other lives, thus touching with blight the common weal.

With such reasons for being total abstainers we *must* be *prohibitionists*.

We believe that which is harmful and wrong for one human being is equally harmful and wrong for another to sell for his own adv We believe the license system is an iniquity, and that in making right a thing morally wrong the Nation becomes partaker of the s infamy of the liquor traffic. It is not drunkenness which is our N sin; drunkenness is the ugly outbreak of human weakness and a It is licensing a sin by choice of the imperial power of governmei which God takes issue, and on which His judgment waits.

We are often told that very good people differ in opinion abc abstinence and prohibition; as well might we say that good peop in opinion about stealing or treason. The saloon is the organized sion of Satan's kingdom on earth. It breaks all the ten commar and teaches men so to do. To protect and perpetuate it is to de to ruin men, and to be a traitor to the State by aiding and abet worst enemies. "No drunkard shall inherit eternal life" is the the Christian, yet we license three hundred thousand men to make ards, put their gain in our coffers, their servants in power, thei into government, and this is made possible by the ballots of C men.

In presence of these truths touching the value of individual the cost of a great civilization, we can be nothing else than radic tween right and wrong there is no ground save a battle-ground.

We are often told that these principles have cost us popularit well, such result was expected. When the reformer grows popula missed his mission, and made terms with the enemy.

Next in elements of power we name *organization;* its method connectional lines, from the local union through County, Distr State to the edge of the Republic, then afar to the world outside was the first organization sufficiently national in spirit to cross th line between North and South, bearing the lilies of peace to hoi hearts on both sides of the line, until the past was beguiled of in the high endeavor of a common cause. Every State and Ter the Union is now within the circle of crystallized power. To mak accomplished fact has taken such courage, patience, and self-sac will never find proper record, save in the story of eternity. This wide movement is much more than local associations of wome together by a national tie, although that were enough to rejoic means also the organization of ideas and ideals vital to individ public well-being, and the organized forces are but the living another power mightier still,—viz., the great truths for which the

Wendell Phillips once said, "Agitation is the atmosphere of and agitation is impossible without ideas, the size and loftiness usually measures their usefulness to the world. What, then, are t

for which battle is made? Briefly, an individual self-governed, with brain, blood, and nerves free from poison; a home love-governed, where purity glorifies life, and the curses of the alcohol maniac are never heard; a church Christ-governed, that stands with Him for the prohibition of evil, and dares to rebuke sin in high places by ballot as well as exhortation; a State justice-governed, that scorns to fill its coffers with the price of virtue, by license high or low, on an acknowledged infamy; a Nation God-governed, the commerce and civilization of which can touch heathen peoples without sending them to a lower savagery, and meet the stranger within its gates with other welcome than the open doors of the legalized saloon.

Are these ideals high? Nay, they are possible; what is possible and right is duty, and duty brings us to judgment.

These allied forces are not only nation-wide but earth-wide, and the gracious woman who presides over this Council is the president of a Federation of the World. For swift vision of growing domain I quote from Miss Willard's address before the Atlanta convention. Speaking of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, she says, "Twenty-one countries have translated our motto, 'For God and Home and Native Land;' it was seen in Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Norwegian, Dutch, French, and Maori at the World's Exposition. Seven sacrificing years have strewn the earth with Local Unions, thirty-four different nations are now federated against opium, alcohol, and tobacco."

My pen falters at the outlook; add to this in every land the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Unions which are training the true succession of these older apostles of a new dispensation; add the children,—thousands upon thousands of the Loyal Temperance Legions with the pledge in the hand, a reason in the head, and a conviction in the heart; think of such wide influences and answer if the day of redemption from appetite has not dawned.

It seems to me the sunrise gun was fired last year by the Arabs, when in an anti-rum Congress they passed the following: "Resolved, To surround the entire coast of Africa with a cordon of armed ships to confiscate every European vessel containing liquors, and sell the crews into slavery."

No wonder Miss Willard says of this action, "Would that some of the Boston ships that carry rum might fall into the hands of these righteously indignant Arab heathen."

The third element of power I shall call *Harmonious Individuality*. Miss Willard's vivid and impressive personality has been photographed not only on the hearts of her co-workers who love her, but on the history of her time, in lines that shall never be effaced; and some of the sharpest shading which makes for this noble immortality has been done by the

hands of her enemies in their jealous but impotent rage. B
as she is in her own place, it is one of t ıarvels of her l
that she has drawn about herself other v :n, in their wa
strong.

What a temptation in this Council of Women to eulogize the
of the White Ribbon! Some are the fearless path-finders of new
some are separated agitators who allow no hand to be laid u
which brings obligation to be silent; some are statesmen-like,
the great truths of this reform are so clear that their very mi
them calm; some are the singers of songs, even in the night;
prophets with a long vision for the morning; some, like priestes
in secret places the will of God.

I hesitate to name any, because of necessity forbidden to
My work, however, would not be complete if I did not record
that *science* and not fanaticism has fixed the standards for total ab
and against intoxicants; that these advanced scientific position
day acknowledged in the laws of thirty-seven States and Territo
in the text-books studied by three-fourths of the children of the
Can this be said without writing the name of Mary H. Hu
school of the Church, that temple of childhood and youth, wh
and conscience are educated together, has been also reached;
high moral philosophy of scientific truth is being brought to te
of the people's children in their Bible studies. How can this
and no mention made of Lucia Kimball? The great outside
childhood so often denied all careful training has been partly
and the carefully reared called out for a special purpose, until the
ing songs" of the Loyal Legions are sung around the world.
tell the story of these heirs of to-morrow and not write the
Helen G. Rice and Anna A. Gordon?

One day of every year the prisons, jails, and almshouses of th
are filled with the fragrant gifts of the Flower Mission, and man
the year the gospel of love and hope is preached to those whose
gone astray into crime, which shuts them from the common
hood of men. Who can make report of such a ministry and
words of reverent praise from Jennie Cassidy, whose years of i
have blossomed into a benediction on those who most need it;
J. K. Barney, who believes in Christ for criminals?

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has kept abr
right thinking on the "Woman Question," and the story of its
along that line will always suggest with a thrill of enthusi
Zerelda G. Wallace, with her fine gray head and statesman-lik
which disarms the doubter and wins the opponent in spite of th
dice, and her younger and gifted associate of other days, Dr. A

These in department work are but examples of the fine individuality which runs through all classes of toilers in this many-sided Society.

Organizers, evangelists, lecturers, a great company, but each an intense personality, while the State Presidents with their zeal, tempered with wisdom, compose for its President a cabinet worthy even of her peerless self. You might as well try to sneer down the sunlight in the interest of darkness, or scold down the bolts of God's lightning, as to use these impotent weapons against such inspired and intrepid souls, intent on a divine mission.

Finally, in representing this Society, we wish to call attention to certain great facts which have been demonstrated, and large interests which have grown out of its life and work.

Among these facts are:

1st. The friendship of women for each other.

2d. The capability of women to become leaders in the world of thought and action as soon as the opportunity is presented.

3d. The genius of women for compact organization and sustained endeavor, under either the smile of prosperity or the fire of discouragement and criticism.

4th. The moral strength of women when related to public as well as private questions, which indicates what will be their value when endowed with the full rights of citizenship.

5th. The capacity of women for business life and the successful management of large and important financial concerns.

This thought lies at the threshold of certain great interests which have grown out of, and become part of, the history of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,—viz., The Woman's Temperance Publishing House, The National Temperance Hospital, and the Woman's Temperance Temple.

It must be remembered that the effort of the years has been to win the world's heart by the way of its brain; so a special critical and unique literature was demanded. When the work began no such literature was in existence; but it has been created, so choice, so versatile, so wide in range, that its leaves are literally for the healing of the nations; and this comes to our great populations in seventeen different languages.

Of the beginning of this notable publishing house in Chicago, I quote from Miss Willard's "Women and Temperance," and it introduces to you another remarkable personality. Miss Willard says, "Mrs. M. B. Carse will perhaps longest be remembered as founder of *The Union Signal.* I shall never forget the look of exultation with which she came to me at Old Orchard Beach, in 1879, when we were both attending the Gospel Temperance Meeting in that lovely seaside resort, and with look inspired she said to me, 'I could not sleep last night. I had a waking vision of

the paper we must have at the West to represent our broad and progressive work. It will not do to wait a whole month for news from our work. We must pass the word along at least once a week. Nothing will help the movement like this frequent interchange of thought, purpose, and sympathy.' And with beaming countenance and earnest words she laid her plan before me, adding impressively, 'I have prayed much about this, and it is going to be.' Those who know her magnificent energy, winning manners, and undoubted faith, will not wonder that Mrs. Carse raised five thousand dollars to serve as a nucleus for the new journalistic enterprise. It was not long until we had a weekly paper, the name of which was *The Signal*, and the motto, 'Thou shalt give a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth.' Mary Bannister Willard, our first editor, gave us this significant and beautiful motto; and we had wider space and fresher news. And in 1882 *Our Union* merged its destiny with that of its wide-awake sister of the West, coming with the head-quarters of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to the city of Chicago. From this junction of force has resulted the largest temperance publishing house ever known to the annals of the great reform."

This publishing association is now ten years old. It started with five thousand dollars; now its capital stock is one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, over seventy-five thousand dollars of which is already sold to White-Ribboners, and pays a yearly dividend of seven per cent. The house pays eight thousand dollars annual rental for its work-rooms and offices; has five editors and one hundred and fifty employés, and handled last year over two hundred thousand dollars.

The weekly edition of *The Union Signal* is eighty-five thousand, and with the *Oak and Ivy Leaf* organ of the Ys, and the *Young Crusader* for the Loyal Temperance Legions, is read in every quarter of the world. From one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and thirty millions of pages has been the annual output during the recent years. Mary Allen West is editor-in-chief of *The Union Signal*, and Mrs. F. Rastall is now business manager of the great concern, coming to her exceptional place the 1st of January, 1891.

The National Temperance Hospital, located also at Chicago, was undertaken by some women of wealth, who were willing to invest largely in order to demonstrate that alcohol is not a necessity in medicine. The Unions in the whole country were interested; beds were endowed, rooms furnished, and supplies sent in to help on the work. The hospital and its method of treatment have had the active sympathy and help of some of the best physicians of Chicago, among them N. S. Davis, M.D., LL.D., who easily stands at the very head of the profession in the country.

Mrs. J. B. Hobbs, of Chicago, is President of its Board of Managers.

The Hospital is always full, and would be if twice the size. A new building is demanded, and will come in the near future, so the enemy is dying in the scientific ditch as the light of demonstrated truth is dawning.

The last and greatest venture of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is the Temperance Temple, the corner-stone of which was laid with most impressive ceremonies on November 1, 1890. Three thousand children marched through the crowded streets of Chicago to the platform prepared for them on the wide foundation. Never will any who heard it forget the song from those musical throats:

> "Little eyes will watch you grow,
> Rise, Temple, rise;
> You are built for us, you know,
> Rise, Temple, rise."

Back of this great enterprise, its inspiration and its hope, is the woman who was the projector of the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, Matilda B. Carse.

It is to be hoped that in five years the Woman's Christian Temperance Union will come into full possession of their building. They have already given, and pledged in gifts to the building fund, about two hundred thousand dollars, and money and pledges are coming in daily with increased rapidity.

This great enterprise has been too great for the grasp and faith of some of the women. They were not all born in Chicago, and built on the large prophetic pattern of that marvellous city, but they do have faith in the woman who said, "Arise and build;" so stone by stone it grows and is already complete in its beauty to the lifted vision of Mrs. Carse.

All this is but a glimpse unworthy of that which I have tried to represent. Let us not miss the secret of such sustained and glorious endeavor.

In that marvellous poem "The Light of Asia," the poet tells of Buddha the prince who gave his life for the world. He dwelt in a stately palace in the midst of fabulous magnificence; he had for his bride the fairest among women; joy, power, and security swept around his life like the full tide of the southern seas; but through the music, across the royal splendor, came ever to his soul the cry of the world,—the sad world that needed help, strong, changeless, and tender. So one night he stole out in the silence, away from sleeping wife and child; turned his face from ease, ambition, and royalty, and gave up his kingdom to hush the moan that called him to self-sacrifice.

The women for whom I speak to-day have learned this lesson, not from Buddha, but from Christ. When you read the letters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, say gently, "These are they who hear the cry of the world."

THE PRESIDENT. Before introducing the next speaker I wish to state that all women connected with the press are desired to meet at one o'clock in the parlors of Willard's Hotel to extend and organize further the Woman's National Press Association. This afternoon, in the Riggs House, all women who belong to the nine societies, regular members of the Council, are invited to be present, for we are going to discuss the enlargement of the Council, as there seems a very friendly feeling towards some such movement. I wish that ladies from the different States and different organizations, and alumnæ of different colleges, would confer, and appoint a time and place of meeting and talk over their matters, for that is one desire of the Council to help bring together those who have the same views.

The next in order is the "Temperance Temple," and it will be presented to you in a brief address by Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, of Chicago.

THE TEMPERANCE TEMPLE.

MATILDA B. CARSE. It is but three years ago, as I well remember, when it was my privilege to appear on this platform before the first Woman's Council and speak upon the subject which is my theme to-day. Then it seemed to many of you that the erection by women of a building such as I portrayed was the dream of an enthusiast, but it has now become a solid fact, as much so as iron, stone, and brick can make it; so also has it been demonstrated that woman can succeed in business enterprises which formerly had been considered outside her sphere and beyond her capacity, as well as the fact that men do not put hinderances in the way of woman when she steps into the business arena and honestly and determinedly sets to work to achieve success.

At first there is a little good-natured ridicule, which has to be endured; but when men see there is an earnestness of purpose accompanied by wise plans, with a power to execute, and that the woman neither affects brusque masculinity of manner on the one hand, nor on the other weak femininity of the viny twining order that is forever toppling over on a man for support, but goes forward with womanly graciousness as well as independence, he accords to her not only respect but every opportunity to win success. Success, however, with women as well as men means dogged perseverance. If one plan fails, try another. Let no reverses discourage you; keep at it. Put your very best into it. Don't be afraid of drudgery. Drudgery has attained far greater things in the world than genius; in fact, genius, without persistent labor, has never scored a marked success.

The Temple, the National Head-quarters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which is now in course of erection in Chicago, did not evolve from dream to a glorious reality without years of plodding hard work. It is seven years since I first began to dream of a Woman's

building, that should be the home of our National Society and shou also be a source of revenue, which is so greatly needed to make effective the many lines of work which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has undertaken for the betterment of society. When I came before y three years ago, I had been actively at work on the enterprise for alm a year. Since then many changes have taken place in my plans. T site has been changed from Dearborn to La Salle Street, the Wall St of Chicago. The lot is also larger than the one then contemplated. It has a frontage of one hundred and ninety feet by ninety-six feet d , and is valued at one million dollars. The building consequently is larger, and is to cost one million two hundred thousand dollars. We have le the ground from Marshall Field for two hundred years at a rental of forty thousand dollars a year without revaluation,—*i.e.*, no matter how valuabl real estate may become there is to be no change in the price.

The plan for the building is surpassingly beautiful, and was designed by the late John W. Root, consulting architect of the Columbian Exp sition, who at the time of his death, a few weeks ago, was said to be th foremost architect of America. The Temple, he declared, was his mas piece, and it is so considered by other great architects. The *Inl Architect* for January, a monthly journal on architecture, contains a long article by Henry Van Brunt, a noted art critic, on the life and works of Mr. Root. After giving a lengthy criticism of the Temple, he conclud by saying, "As for the Temple erecting for the Woman's Christian Te perance Union, I think it will be generally admitted that this last adap tion of architecture to structure, or, more properly, this growth of archi tecture from structure on a heroic scale, is, on the whole, the finest effort of Root's genius. As an expression of strength and dignity crowned worthily by beauty and grace, no nobler example has been given in modern times."

Architecturally the building is French Gothic, and is for what in the shape of the letter H. It consists of two imme e wi united by a middle portion or vinculum. It has a court seventy f long and thirty feet deep, fronting on La Salle Street, and a similar court t same length and eighteen feet deep fronting to the west. The main entrance on La Salle Street is grand and imposing, being twenty-four feet wide. The massive stone around the arched door-way is to be enriched by having carved upon it the coats of arms of the different States. The great doors open into a spacious rotunda twenty-eight feet high, opposite the grand entrance, and formed in a semicircle are eight large elevators. On either side of the rotunda rise the grand staircases of marble. The floors in all the halls will be marble mosaic. The wainscoting is to be of white marble. The material used in the building for the first two stories is to be New Hampshire granite of a grayish tint with a dash of

pink scintillating through it; above that, pressed brick and terra-cotta of a pinkish shade, which tones harmoniously with the granite. Very little wood is to be used, iron and marble taking its place wherever practicable.

The structure is to be thirteen stories high. At the tenth story the building-line retreats, and the immense roof, which contains three stories, commences breaking as it ascends into Gothic turrets, from the centre of which springs a *flèche* of gold bronze seventy feet high surmounted by the beautiful form of a woman, with face upturned and hands outstretched to heaven in prayer, symbolizing the attitude of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, as she protests against the laws and customs of the Nation in regard to the liquor traffic, and appeals to God to save her home, children, and land from its destroying power.

A beautiful feature of the building is a Memorial Hall, from which the incense of prayer will ascend every day in the year for the suppression of the liquor traffic and the salvation of the drunkard. This hall is to be the Westminster Abbey of the temperance reform. It is on the ground-floor, and has a separate entrance on Monroe Street. A wide, long hall leads to the auditorium. In a niche in the entrance hall there is to be a beautiful fountain with symbolical sculpture. The auditorium will be supported by marble pillars, and will be an amphitheatre in shape. It is to have memorial windows, and pedestals will support busts of illustrious persons who have lived, labored, and died for the cause of temperance. Both the entrance and main hall are to be lined with marble, and will be used as tablets on which to inscribe the names of all who give one hundred dollars as a means towards the erection of the building. It will also contain memorial tablets, which will tell of the great and noble departed. It is to be named "Willard Hall," in honor of the most illustrious woman of the century, Miss Frances E. Willard. On the outside of the building on the southeast corner is a large niche; here is to be erected a drinking-fountain; the water is to come up seemingly through the foundation-stones, and is to pour forth, day and night, a stream pure and cool, for the refreshment of all passers-by.

Work commenced on the foundation of the building last summer. The corner-stone was laid with imposing ceremonies November 1. The building is to be completed for occupancy by May, 1892. Already a large number of offices have been rented; all of the lower floor, except what is occupied by the hall, has been rented for banks. No doubt, by the time it is completed, it will be entirely occupied. It is computed that the rentals will amount to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year.

The property when the building is finished will be worth two million five hundred thousand dollars. Some will ask, "How can a society of women get possession of such valuable property?" The plan is as fol-

lows: The Woman's Temperance Building Association was incorporated three years ago last July for the purpose of erecting National Head-quarters for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. One of the articles of incorporation stated that persons subscribing for stock pledged themselves to accept five per cent. for the use of their money, and that at any time from five to twelve years, on payment at par with interest in full, they would sell their stock to the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. With this option on the stock the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have twelve years to redeem the building. There will at the very lowest calculation be at least ten per cent. cleared on the stock,—only five of this is paid to stockholders, the other five is set aside to pay off the bonds.

But the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is not calculating on this alone to pay off the indebtedness on the building. The women and children are all at work sending in their gifts; about two hundred thousand dollars have already been raised in this way in cash and pledges, and gifts are coming in with increased volume daily. One simple plan alone which we have adopted should bring in the desired amount if we could get everybody connected with the association to take it up. It is this. We have mite-boxes in the form of the Temple. We ask that all connected with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union take a box and drop into it a penny a day for a year. If this was fully carried out it would bring in one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. We have given out up to date about thirty thousand boxes, and have had large returns from them already. By this plan the poorest can have a part in the work. The capital stock is six hundred thousand dollars, and was all taken before the building was commenced. We are to issue six hundred thousand dollars' worth of bonds, bearing five per cent. interest; we have also found a market for them. We hope within five years from the time the building is completed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union will be sole owners of this magnificent property. However, time will demonstrate the success of the project, and if the high honor should be accorded me to appear before you at the next National Council with the same subject for my theme, I may be able to speak assuredly in regard to the monetary success of the enterprise.

Should all who hear me to-day visit Chicago in 1893, without hesitancy I will promise that amid the great aggregation of unique and wonderful things which the Columbian Exposition will bring together, no object will call forth more enthusiastic admiration than the Woman's Temple,—a temple different from any the world has ever seen, fitted for the needs of the age, uniting beauty and utility: a poem in stone, worthy of the mighty reform which it represents, and also a noble milestone to accentuate the progress which woman has made as she sweeps into the

twentieth century to take her place as leader in every great movement which is for the uplifting of humanity and the purity and happiness of the race.

THE PRESIDENT. I tell Mrs. Carse that I have no more spirit in me; she is too mighty and tremendous for a woman who doesn't know how to add a column of figures.

The next in order was to have been our "Woman's Lecture Bureau," because we have a lecture bureau to exploit our many speakers all over this country, and Mrs. Buell was to have represented it, but duties connected with her office in Chicago prevented her being here, so Miss Anna Gordon was placed on the list, for we all know a good deal of that bureau, but it came about that Mrs. Lease is able to remain only a limited time, so Miss Gordon said, "Let the lecture bureau go."

I now have the pleasure of introducing Mrs. Mary E. Lease, of Kansas.

WOMEN IN THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

MARY E. LEASE. Madam President, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens,—I use that term with somewhat pardonable pride when I remember that the Alliance League of Kansas has given to the women of my sunflower, humanity-loving, temperance-loving State of Kansas the right of political suffrage. (Applause.)

The subject assigned to me to-day, Women in the Farmers' Alliance, cannot be intelligently discussed nor fully understood until the necessity for the formation of the Farmers' Alliance is first shown, and its aims and purposes briefly stated. It must be evident to every intelligent man and woman to-day that there is something radically wrong in the affairs of this Nation. It must be evident to every thinking man and woman that we have reached a crisis in the affairs of this Nation which is of more importance, more fraught with mighty consequence for the weal or woe of the American people, than was even that crisis that engaged the attention of the people of this Nation in the dark and bleeding years of civil strife. We are confronted to-day by a crisis in which every instinct of common duty, of justice, and of patriotism demands prompt and decisive action.

Twelve years ago one of our distinguished statesmen who has but recently been retired to private life (applause), in a speech in the United States Senate, said, "There is no use in any longer trying to disguise the truth. We are on the verge of an impending revolution. Old issues are dead, and the people are arraying themselves on one side or the other of a portentous conflict. On one side is capital, strongly intrenched and privileged, grown arrogant by repeated triumphs and repeated successes; on the other side is labor demanding employment, labor starving and sullen in the cities, resolutely determined to endure no further a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer,

a system that gives a Gould or a Vanderbilt possession of wealth beyo even the dreams of avarice and condemns the poor to a poverty fron which there is no refuge but starvation and the grave."

These were the words that were uttered in the Senate of the Unitec States twelve years ago, and during the time that has since intervened during twelve years of poverty that has been heaped upon the people be cause of class legislation, we are to-day on the verge of an impendi revolution. "Old issues are dead, and the people are arraying themselv on the one side or the other of a portentous conflict."

What means it that Senator Gordon stood in the Senate a few ago and bade this Nation beware of further ignoring the will of the people and prophesied dark, disastrous days to come if the will of the people longer defied? What means it that that grand old Governor of Iow stood before the Republican Club of New York and prophesied that storm would break over this country that would bring ruin, devastation and bloodshed? What means it that John J. Ingalls, whom the wo of Kansas had the pleasure of defeating (applause),—what means it that i his death-bed speech a few days ago he bade the House, the Senate, an the Executive beware of further ignoring and defying the will of t people, and told us most emphatically and plainly that there were great dangers that menaced the safety, ay, threatened the very e of this Republic to-day,—a corrupt ballot and the tyranny of combinec incorporated, conscienceless capital? You know John was always gr on adjectives. (Laughter.)

Senator Stewart tells us, in a recent speech made before the Conven tion, that every act of legislation since the close of the war has been in suance of the policy of the combined bondholders to enslave the Americ people and contract the currency of this nation, and Garfield and Log unite in telling us that whoever controls the money of the Nation con trols the commerce, the industrial interest of that Nation.

My friends, the lash of the slave-driver's whip is no longer heard i this country, but the lash of necessity is driving thousands to unrequite toil. Conscienceless capital is robbing manhood of its prime, mothe of their motherhood, and sorrowful children of sunshine and of joy. Loc around you! What do you behold to-day? A land which less than fo hundred years ago we received fresh from the hands of God, a conti n of unparalleled fertility, magnificent in golden promise for all hum ty a land where we have all diversity of soil and clime, a land where th bounteous hand of Nature has given a wonderful heritage to each an every one of her children; and yet, in this land of plenty and unlimite resources, the cry of humanity is going up from every corner of thi Nation. The plaint of motherhood, the moans of starving children Capital buys and sells to-day the very heart-beats of humanity.

Senator Stewart said, for twenty years the ket value of labor has gone down, and the market value of the dollar up, until to-day the American toiler in his bitterness and wrath asks us, Which is the worst, the black slavery that has gone or the white-slavery that has come? Has the American laborer nothing to show for twenty years of toil? Oh, yes: he can point to the rivers bridged, to the transcontinental railway connecting ocean with ocean, to wonderful churches and cathedrals; he can point to the most wonderful system of agriculture that ever brought joy to a hungry world; he can jostle his rags against the silken garments his toil has secured; he can walk shelterless and sad by the side of the home he has helped to build; he can wipe the sweat from his weary face, and reflect that the twenty thousand of American millionaires who own one billion five hundred million dollars, gathered from the toils and tears of sixty-four millions of American people, have it in their power to name their Governors and our legislators and representatives and Congressmen, —and they *do* name them, and they *have* named them for the last quarter of a century, and they have it in their power to fix the price of labor, to fix the price for every ton of coal.

For one hundred years the speculators, the land-robbers, the pirates and gamblers of this Nation have knocked unceasingly at the doors of Congress, and Congress has in every case acceded to their demands. They have gotten money out of the public treasury amounting to tens of millions of dollars. They were permitted to tap the veins of trade and commerce and withdraw from the body politic the circulating medium which is the life-blood of the Nation, and our law-makers term these acts constitutional, and when for the first time in one hundred years the farmers come timidly knocking at the doors of Congress asking for relief, a howl went up from our boodle—— (The bell sounded time.)

I have given only the prelude. I have not said a word about the women of the Farmers' Alliance. To-morrow morning they say I may finish my address. I want to say to you as a representative of the Alliance from Kansas from the West, that we number half a million in the Alliance who are loyal White-Ribboners. The majority of them are, and I say it with pride, and I return grateful thanks to Almighty God that our Alliance representatives are the only men in the councils of this Nation to-day who have not been elected on a liquor platform.

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order is the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association of the National Society, and, best of all, a woman is at the head of the whole concern. It is to be represented by Mary Allen West, of Chicago, editor of *The Union Signal.*

THE WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.

MARY ALLEN WEST. Although its parents are Illinoisians, the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association was born in Indianapolis, at the home of Mother Wallace, during the memorable National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1879, which called Miss Willard to the Presidency. Its conception was in the brain of Matilda B. Carse months before, its germinal thought being the necessity of a weekly temperance paper conducted by women. In that fertile brain it had gradually taken shape and grown to complete proportions. This ideal paper was to be the organ of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union, backed by a joint-stock company, thus resting on a firm financial foundation, and it should not be started till five thousand dollars' worth of stock had been purchased and paid for. Its first Board of Directors should consist of seven women,—and they seem to have formed a part of that vision which gave Mrs. Carse her pattern, for she named them unhesitatingly and summoned them to the work imperatively. I well remember the consternation I felt when this summons came to me in my quiet country home, and my prompt refusal; but to my cowardly "I can't" came her masterful "you must," and then my unconditional surrender.

At this juncture came the National Convention; the elect ladies, who had not met since their call to the work, were in attendance and planned that meeting in Mother Wallace's chamber to decide whether this thing should be. Gathered in that room, now forever sacred to us all, we knelt in earnest prayer for God's guidance. The answer came; we arose from our knees determined to go forward.

We returned home, and a charter was speedily procured for the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association. Here occurred one of those seeming accidents that proved a Providence. Our application had been for a charter for the Illinois Woman's Temperance Publishing Association; a blundering clerk at Springfield omitted the word "Illinois" in making out the charter, so it came to us as one for the "Woman's Temperance Publishing Association." Our State pride rebelled and we tried to have the mistake corrected. But to do so would necessitate doing over again the entire work of securing the charter, and so we gave it up. Thus we builded better than we knew foundations upon which a National, instead of a State, structure should be reared. The object stated in the charter is the publication of a weekly temperance newspaper and such other literature as shall forward the cause of temperance. The first Board of Directors consisted of Matilda B. Carse, Luella Hagans, Levancia H. Plumb, Elizabeth Grier Hibben, Anna R. Riggs, Margaret Fowler, and Mary Allen West. Four of these seven have continued in the Board ever since, and the officers elected at the first have been unanimously elected

at each succeeding meeting, Mrs. Carse being always our leading spirit as well as our President. Through all the complications that have arisen the greatest harmony has prevailed in this Board; indeed, the unanimity of its action sometimes becomes monotonous, and I am tempted to vote "no" just for variety. No important step in all its wonderful progress has been taken without practical unanimity.

The name chosen for the paper was *The Signal.* Its motto was, "Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth;" its editor, Mary Bannister Willard, and its first issue January 4, 1880.

From that day to this it has been a fearless exponent of the truth as God gave us to see the truth. Here is an illustration of its fearlessness: in Chicago a den of abomination flourished under the innocent name of "Pacific Garden." Horrible things were done there, of which no notice was taken by the daily press because the property was owned by influential men. A murder committed there brought this "open sore" into notice, but the matter was hushed up. Not, however, before it had attracted the attention of our keen-eyed editor, Mrs. Willard. She quietly investigated the matter, substantiated her facts, and published them. A perfect storm of indignation was aroused, not against the "Pacific Garden," but against *The Signal* for making disclosures reflecting upon wealthy church officials who were part owners of the building in which these atrocities were committed. A libel suit was threatened and the Directors were called together to meet the emergency. They made a thorough investigation, then voted unanimously, that "We will heartily support our editor in outspoken testimony against intemperance and kindred sin, whether in church or state, when it can be thoroughly substantiated by facts." We were not sued for libel, either then or afterwards, and it was not long before the "Pacific Garden" was swept out of existence by the force of aroused public opinion.

This breasting the tide was not easy work; it told upon our finances and often brought us into sore straits. One such occasion stands vividly out in my memory: bills payable so far exceeded bills receivable that we were in despair. We had not then, as now, established credit, and did not know where to turn for the money which must be forthcoming. Mr. Plumb, a banker of Streator, had accompanied his wife to Directors' meeting; sitting apart he listened quietly for a time, then said, "Ladies, you have no reason for discouragement; you have not yet resisted unto blood, as we did in starting the first anti-slavery paper. Twice in Cincinnati our office was mobbed and our presses thrown into the river. You have had nothing like *that;* all you need is a little money to tide you over a hard place; if Chicago banks will not trust you, there is one down at Streator which will." It did, and that seemed the turning-point in

our history; from that hour the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association has been creeping up.

The little maiden born at Indianapolis in 1879 was a precocious child, as in December, 1882, we have to record her marriage. So fitting did this union seem that we believe even Ramabai would not have forbidden the bans for this child marriage. Her suitor was *Our Union*, organ of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, whose home was in New York. The courtship was rather a stormy one; "the course of true love never did run smooth," you know; but it ended in a happy marriage, the bride not losing her identity, but retaining her own name in connection with that of her husband,—*The Union Signal.*

The other publications for which our charter provides commenced in a very modest way with reprinting articles from *The Signal* as "Timely Talks;" next came "Illinois Workers' Leaflets," which after the consolidation became widely known as "National Leaflets," devoted to instruction in departmental work. As everything published was written to meet a need and was fresh and crisp, our publications "fitted in" and were in great demand. The fertile brain of Miss Willard not only planned and produced many of them, but her influence brought them into notice and promoted their sale.

The wonderful growth of temperance sentiment and of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union carried the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association along with it, and in large measure accounts for its phenomenal growth, though were I not so much a part of its management, I might say that its success both demonstrates and in large measure results from woman's business ability. To-day the paper started under so many discouragements, and which at the close of its first year, April, 1881, had a subscription list of only three thousand two hundred, publishes eighty-five thousand each week, and has so many calls for extra editions that its average weekly issue last year was ninety thousand three hundred and twenty-seven, with subscribers and contributors in every quarter of the globe. By its side stand its fair daughter, *The Oak and Ivy Leaf*, for young women and young men, and its lusty son, *The Young Crusader*, for the boys and girls.

A single year has seen sent out from the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association presses one hundred and twenty-five million pages of literature, each instinct with some phase of the many-sided reform. Besides advocating, as it always has done, total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State, it has ever been ready to take the next step when convinced that it was ordered of God. From the conservative position it at first occupied it has evolved into advocacy of the ballot for woman, taking prohibition into politics, the need of a party back of prohibition to enforce it, social purity work, and the ecclesias-

tical rights of women. Its publications represent e: of these advance movements, especially that along the social purity line. At each step forward some good friends, not shod like us in seven-league boots, have been left behind and new enemies have been encountered. But in the name of our God have we set up our banner, and it has never been trailed in the dust.

Among its publications the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association is proud to number books by many well-known authors, among them Mary Lowe Dickenson, William T. Hornaday, Dr. George P. Hays, Mrs. S. M. I. Henry, Mrs. Lucy A. Scott, Florence Kelly Wischnewetzky, Dr. N. S. Davis, Professor Bunge, of the University of Berne, Anna Gordon, and Frances E. Willard. The production of Miss Willard's "Glimpses of Fifty Years" was a notable feat in book-making, as it was written, printed, and forty thousand copies disposed of within six months. So well established is its reputation for doing good work that the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association is often a successful competitor for jobs of book publishing with leading houses in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston.

From the small beginning when one desk in a corner of the Central Woman's Christian Temperance Union Head-quarters accommodated its whole force, editor and publisher, the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association has grown to employ on an average one hundred and twenty-five persons, to whom is paid weekly thirteen hundred and fifty dollars. This includes only the home force; a small army of paid contributors and correspondents at work for us are distributed in every quarter of the globe. One of the gratifying things accomplished by the Association is giving employment to so many women and men in need of it. Its monthly paper bills average over two thousand five hundred dollars, and the value of its plant, including machinery, electrotyping foundry, plates, type, furniture, and material on hand January 1, 1891, when a very careful inventory was taken preparatory to a change of business managers, is fifty-six thousand nine hundred and thirty-four dollars. One little item will give a more vivid idea of what the business is than rows of figures: it requires five tons of type to set the mailing-list of *The Union Signal* alone; the cost of this type is five thousand dollars.

It keeps seven large Campbell presses and four small presses busy much of the time, day and night, and has a web perfecting press on the stocks, being manufactured expressly to print *The Union Signal*; it embodies some improvements that promise to revolutionize printing from electroplates. The Association has its own electrotype foundry. The entire receipts of last year were two hundred and fifteen thousand three hundred and fifty-one dollars and fifty-five cents.

The capital stock with which the Woman's Temperance Publishing

Association started was five thousand dollars; this has been gradually increased to meet the demands of its growing business till now it stands at one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, where it will probably remain, as its outfit is now sufficient, or will be when the new press is completed, to carry on its business. Those who first purchased its stock had no thought of ever receiving any other dividends than those accruing from doing good. I well remember how we used to laugh at Mrs. Carse's enthusiasm when she prophesied that some time the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association stock would pay dividends. As usual, grand enthusiasm was a truer prophet than weak faith, and for six years the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association stock *has* paid dividends; commencing with four per cent., it crept up to seven in 1888 and 1889; in 1890 it felt the general depression and declared only a six per cent. dividend; if the promise of the first month of 1891 is fulfilled, this year's dividends will come back to the higher figure.

Last October was the last increase in its capital stock, of fifty thousand dollars; of this about one-half is already sold. The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association stock is never quoted in market reports because it can never be put upon the open market, as it can be sold only to Woman's Christian Temperance Union women. In spite of this restriction, and another which forbids any stock to be sold at less than par (thus making watering it impossible), the stock sells readily, and we have no doubt that the remaining twenty-five thousand dollars will all be sold by the time its proceeds will be needed for the purpose to which they are devoted, paying for the new perfecting press.

In its early history the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association tried the experiment of a woman business manager, but the times were not ripe for it; business men with whom she must largely deal had not yet learned faith in women in business. Ten years have taught the world much in this direction. Now the hour has struck, and the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association responds by calling to the responsible position of its business management a woman, Mrs. Fanny H. Rastall, of Kansas. She brings to the work the result of twenty-five years' experience in printing-offices; she took charge January 1, 1891. Her first month's reign has proved the most prosperous in our history, and with glad thanksgiving we accept it as a prophecy of the future. Most thankful of all are we that the great heart to whom came the Heaven-sent inspiration out of which the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association grew, Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, has been spared to be our leader every step of the way, and to-day, while still in the prime of her glorious womanhood, is permitted to see the realization of that vision shown her on the mount eleven years ago.

THE PRESIDENT. We have only one more to present on our list, Mrs.

Hobbs, of Chicago, who speaks on the "Woman's [illegible] nal Temperance Hospital." She is Vice-President of the Board. She is better known as Mrs. James B. Hobbs. Her husband, when President of the Board of Trade, always turned his wine-glass right side up, which to us means upside down.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE HOSPITAL.

MRS. J. B. HOBBS. The object of the National Temperance Hospital is to demonstrate to the world the scientific fact that alcohol is not necessary as a food or medicine. The relation of alcohol to the treatment of disease is, we are glad to say, becoming one of increasing interest to the medical profession.

Its importance to the public cannot be over-estimated. In this connection the value of the Temperance Hospital must be highly appreciated by the scientist who desires to *know* wherein consists the medicinal value of alcohol, if any, and by the social reformer who is anxious to learn if the use of an article so widely injurious can be dispensed with in the treatment of diseases.

In this institution many of the supposed necessary uses of alcohol have been "weighed in the balance and found wanting." The progress made under the present administration has been phenomenal. The number of patients has increased fully seventy-five per cent.

During the past ten months one hundred and three *in*-patients have been treated, representing nearly every State in the Union, and thirteen nationalities, and in the same time there have been but four deaths, and these were considered incurable when received. Two-thirds of all these cases were surgical. In addition to these there have been eighty-four outside and dispensary patients.

Some of the *in*-patients came thoroughly infused with the alcoholic and nicotine habits, and left the Hospital entirely cured. Typhoid and intermittent fevers, surgical cases, and other diseases in which the heart's action grows feeble, are treated without alcoholic stimulants, using in their stead such remedies as carbonate of ammonia, aromatic spirits of ammonia, digitalis, caffeine, and cactus grandiflora.

There are only three endowed beds in the Hospital at present. Letters of inquiry are constantly being received as to what individuals may do to assist the great work. It has been suggested to endow beds. This is a work which is much needed, and one in which all may participate. This Hospital has no endowment, and depends upon charity for its partial support. The cost to endow a bed is only three hundred and fifty dollars per year (less than a dollar a day), a sum within the reach of many who are not only able, but would be pleased to do this could the matter be properly brought to their notice.

Persons paying five dollars and an annual fee of one dollar are entitled

to a membership in the Hospital Association, and will have a voice in the annual meeting for the election of officers and any business that comes properly before such a meeting.

The accommodations of the present Hospital building are inadequate to meet present demands; only twenty patients can be accommodated at one time. It is the earnest purpose of the managers to erect as soon as possible buildings with a capacity for at least one hundred patients, where there can be a children's ward and a department for inebriates, as well as other necessary departments. This great work must all be done through public charity and donations from the people. The Directors aim to have this Institution equal to, or superior to, the celebrated Temperance Hospital of London. Perfect harmony exists between the medical schools, the staff being equally composed of each. It is also about equally divided between the sexes.

Only about five per cent. of those admitted have been charity patients; the purpose is, however, as soon as financial circumstances will permit, to receive more largely of those deserving charity.

The Clara Barton Training School for Nurses has shown marked progress. The class numbers ten, and there is a list of sixty-five applications filed, many of whom might be brought into service if the Hospital had only a suitable home of its own. The object of this department is to give young women a careful training in the care of the sick. The course of training continues two years, including the three months of probation. Lectures on anatomy, physiology, materia medica, care of surgical cases, therapeutics, diseases of children, care and general nursing, are given by the medical staff during the course.

The present class has received one hundred and fifty class recitations conducted by the Superintendent, embracing anatomy, physiology, handbook on nursing, and medical terms. The class has also received special lessons in massage and electricity.

After six months' training the nurses are sent into private families for nursing as opportunity offers, and in the twenty-eight weeks of outside nursing they have made gratifying records. The present condition of this department with its flattering prospects reflects great credit to the honored name which this school bears,—Clara Barton.

The officers of the Hospital are as follows:

President, Mrs. M. C. Baker, Evanston, Illinois.
Vice-President, Mrs. J. B. Hobbs, Chicago, Illinois.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. H. E. Loveless, Wheaton, Illinois.
Corresponding Secretary, Miss K. A. Jackson, Evanston, Illinois.
Treasurer, Mrs. C. E. Bigelow, Chicago, Illinois.
Chairman Clara Barton Training School for Nurses, Mrs. M. E. Klein, Chicago, Illinois.
Chairman Medical Board, Dr. C. G. Davis, Chicago, Illinois.

House Physician, Dr. L. M. Ousley, Chicago, Illinois.
Matron, Mrs. S. M. Hornby, Chicago, Illinois.

THE PRESIDENT. Miss Anthony, you know, asks but few favors, and she says, "I have a very dear young friend here, and very gifted, and I want her to recite to you," so it was agreed upon. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you Belle Becham Bond, of Boston, a graduate of the School of Elocution in the Conservatory. You will have the pleasant variety of listening to a young person among so many older ones.

Miss Bond's recitation was received with applause.

THE PRESIDENT. And now, dear friends, I have another among the younger voices, and I know that to the last sweet voice you have all listened with pleasure and with a thrill of the heart. We have with us a fraternal delegate, sent by the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars in Canada, Mrs. Bessie Starr Keefer.

BESSIE STARR KEEFER. Madam President, ladies of this Convention, and ladies and gentlemen, greeting: I offer to you the congratulations, the prayers, and the heartfelt sympathies of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the World, the grandfather and grandmother of such organizations, organized in 1851 in protest against the idea which closed the doors of that notable congress which called from all parts of the world all people who were interested in the question of drunkenness and its cure,—a convention to which our beloved Miss Anthony, and you, sister, went as people interested in drunkenness and its cure, but you were allowed no part in the discussion of the question.

This organization has grown until its children people this earth to-day and the house has become too small for them, and so we have other societies, among the most notable of which is the one most nobly represented here this morning,—the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The grandfather and grandmother, I say, have not many words, but they do desire that you should understand that there are men in this world who have not bowed the knee to Baal, although the liquor traffic has so taken possession of the hearts and business of the world, and so it is from the five hundred and fifty thousand of its men as well as from the four hundred and fifty thousand of the sisterhood I bring you greeting, who in the midst of dangers and in the presence of the world have dared to "brave the loch." (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT. Dr. Shaw has an announcement to make.

REV. ANNA H. SHAW. I wish to announce that it is the heartfelt desire of our beloved President, Julia Ward Howe, that all the women ministers shall meet here in friendly converse, and we have appointed one o'clock, to-morrow afternoon, in the parlors of Wimodaughsis, 1406 G

Street, and we would be very glad to meet not only the ordained ministers, women who have been ordained by other men and women, but the ordained ministers who have been ordained of God, and there are more of them that have *not* had man's hands laid upon them than *have* had.

I wish to make two brief announcements. This evening we are to treat of the subject of education, and there will be some very fine speeches, and you will remember also that Mrs. Lease of Kansas is to finish the speech in which you were so much interested this morning.

THE PRESIDENT. You know the New Testament says that you are to rejoice in others' joys. My friend and neighbor for many years, Mrs. Hitt, out of personal conviction as a duty, and also somewhat from personal kindness to me, responded to the invitation to take part in the exercises of this Council. Now what I have to tell you is that this lady and Mrs. A. D. Carse, long a missionary in India, have been appointed by the Foreign Missionary Society as delegates to our Conference. I have their certificates. I rejoice, because it is a grand thing to get our Methodist women in these on-going movements, in which I think their hearts have always been.

Now, in conclusion of this beautiful morning, which will be so pleasant and so memorable to us who are devoted to temperance reforms, all of which have blossomed out of the cross of Christ, I ask you to join with us in singing our old Crusade hymn, "Rock of Ages."

After the hymn the session adjourned.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1891.

Evening Session.

EDUCATION.

AFTER the solo and opening prayer by Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden, the President introduced Lucinda H. Stone, who spoke upon "A Demand for Women in the Faculties of Co-Educational Colleges and Universities."

A DEMAND FOR WOMEN IN THE FACULTIES OF CO-EDUCATIONAL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

LUCINDA H. STONE. A great deal has been written recently in our reviews on the subject of "Formative Influences" of life, thought, and character. I believe that a monitor and mentor to whom I owe, more than I can estimate, the trend of my present thought and my interest in subjects that brought me to this Council, was a pair of large steelyards which I can remember as far back as I can remember anything, that hung suspended in my mother's kitchen, and with which I saw her weigh the coarser groceries of household use; these marked nothing less than the quarters of a pound. But the earliest household service in which I can remember being called upon to participate was, when the company cake was to be made, of being sent to bring the smaller steelyards that marked the ounces, the half-, and even quarter-ounces. I was often sent to bring these steelyards to lend to a neighbor also. How well I remember the place where, and even the nail upon which they hung! Being a participant in this service for others impressed, I think, the lesson I was to learn from the different kinds of steelyards by which we weigh or measure things all through life. I picked up another lesson just at this point once, in the Bank of England, which transferred the first lesson and the same law into the higher region of the moralities, and upon the same principle, I suppose, that Drummond finds his "Natural Law in the Spiritual World,"—viz., that there is but one law. Among the most remarkable things that our bank guide had to point out to us in this great gold vault were the scales for weighing the gold coin. So wonderfully accurate were these scales that not the thousandth part of a grain, not the finest gold filing, could be lost or extracted without a note of the loss being instantly

registered by the hands, like those upon the face of a clock, of these scales. So delicate was the mechanism that these hands fell several degrees when half a postage-stamp was laid upon the plate. "We call these scales," said the guide, "The Lord Chief Justice of England." The Lord Chief Justice they were truly, when justice concerned the weight or measurement of the infinitesimal filings, the very dust of the nation's gold, her material wealth.

But where was the Lord Chief Justice of England who weighed and measured so carefully, so conscientiously the interests of human beings, the lives and souls of men? No Lord of Justice had yet been installed in another department of the Bank of England to which we were conducted. Here the room was so hot and close and unventilated that it seemed as if asphyxia must be the consequences of remaining there long enough to note what were the wonders of the department. I really gasped for breath in coming out after a stay of ten minutes. But here were several men and boys who looked like moving corpses, striking off on hand-presses notes of the Bank of England.

Stepping behind a press at which a boy of twelve or fourteen was at work, I noticed that he was printing thousand-pound notes on the Bank of England. The boy's face could not have been more corpse-like had he been in his coffin. As we issued from this apartment I said to our guide, "How can these boys live in such an atmosphere as this?" "It is pretty 'ard," he said, "but they get used to it after a little." "But is this heat necessary?" I asked. "It must be kept very 'ot for the runnin' of the presses and the flowin' of the ink." "But could not some air be let in?" I further asked. "Might, p'raps, but it would be difficult." "But those poor boys look so pale," I said. "One looked scarcely alive; they could not live long, I am sure, in such an atmosphere." "Not so very long, I suppose, ma'am," was his indifferent reply.

I gathered a lesson in the Bank of England that day worth more than the poor entrance fee I had paid would have entitled me to. I would not part with or lose that lesson for this fee multiplied many times. The steelyard lesson of my earliest childhood came back to me with a new and higher application, and there were borne in upon my spirit, as never before, the words of the great teacher: "My kingdom is not of this world; verily, I say unto you, you must be born again." Civilization is but a succession of uplifts to a higher point of view,—wider outlooks; as every growing individual life is a succession of births into a higher life. It was evident that the kingdom of the "Lord Chief Justice" was of this world of which Mammon is king. What had Mammon to do with the rights of poor boys to a breath of God's fresh air? "The Lord Chief Justice of England" had never thought on these things. They were out of his line. His eyes had not been opened to see them. Truly, I think

it was just things like these that must have been in the mind of the Great Teacher when he said, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear (or understand) them now." The fine gains in the arts and sciences have not yet been applied to the making of scales for weighing out moral justice. The old steelyards that marked nothing less than the quarters are yet in use in this kingdom.

But we are coming to a new system of weights and measures of many things concerning which our eyes have hitherto been holden, that we have not seen them at all in their true light and meaning,—coming to finer perceptions of moral, even-handed justice, or else this Council would never have been called.

To consider these finer issues of truth and justice, women, according to the legend of woman's creation, herself an evolvement from the coarser earthy, have well set themselves.

There are sermons in stones, we are told. So, sometimes, we may find lessons of truth in ignorance and superstition. I found one once just in point on this subject, quite worth treasuring in my heart, and taught me by my old self-constituted Syrian guide, who, with an eye to the penny to be earned, wanted to show me "something very 'markable" under the temple in Jerusalem; and he showed me a great rock, which he solemnly assured me was a pile of clay (hardened into the rock before us) which was left over when the Lord made Adam. "And why did he not make Eve of that, seeing there was such a quantity of material to make her out of?" I asked. "Oh! Eve, she was not here to be made," he said. "She had to wait." The old Syrian had at least perceived the situation, found the grain of fact upon which he had founded the story, quite as truly as most novelists found their stories on fact. Eve and her daughters have had to wait, for their interests to be considered, their betters to be served, ever since, and thus ignorantly have the true interests of their esteemed "betters," the other half of humanity (which is a unit, and cannot be otherwise), been sadly hindered from Eve's time down to our own; as, what is not good for one-half of a whole cannot be good for the other half. For, as Emerson says, "not a valve, not a wall, not an intersection is there in nature; but one blood rolls uninterruptedly in endless circulation through all nature, as the water of the globe is all one sea, and, truly seen, its tide is one."

Pitifully blind are eyes that cannot see this; as the law by which all things human and divine—also one—are governed. Old Hermes Trismigestes (the three times great) is accredited with the saying, "As is the outer, so is the inner; as is the great, so is the small; there is no great or small in God's economy; there is but one law, and He that worketh is one." No sentence that I ever conned has taught me more than this. Wide of application as the universe, it comprehends things natural and

things spiritual; things of the sense and things of the soul. It is the same divine balance of power, of even-handed justice, justness, that keeps the planets in their places, as sways to harmony of impulse and purpose and execution the humblest household, community, federation, or institution upon the earth's surface, and makes all men and all things workers together with God towards the doing of His will on earth as it is done in Heaven.

A new world has been discovered within the last half, we may say, the last quarter of a century which is as the mighty universe to that which Columbus found, or to any of which he had then heard; a world of ideas that is like the world of air, to the solid land; the ether to the air; infinite space to the ether; it has no limits; and we are beginning to learn that we are all a part of this infinite. Separation was the genius and spirit of the old civilizations, and hence every man built his castle, a fortress, on some inaccessible hill or mountain-top, and surrounded by a moat furnished with a drawbridge, within his own control. The genius of the new Renaissance is unity, brotherhood, oneness.

Blessed are the eyes opened to see, on the mountain-tops, and greet these messengers (some here assembled) of the dawn of a new day, on whose banner is "Truth for authority," not authority, or tradition, or precedent for truth. Blessed are such shining faces as hers who bequeathed to us this motto, hidden for a time from us in the purer light of the beyond. But, thank God, not all such nimbused saints are passed into the beyond. Some are still among us

> "Who, like the seer of old,
> Can see the helpers God hath sent,
> And how life's rugged mountain-side
> Is white with many an angel tent.
>
> "These hear the heralds whom our Lord
> Sends down, his pathway to prepare;
> And light, from others hidden, shines
> On their high place of faith and prayer."

It is to greet such, and to commune with them concerning the great human interests to be considered in this Council,—all educational in the true sense,—that I am no less glad to be here than I am to have an opportunity to ask you, my friends, to consider seriously the importance of a subject that has been impressed upon me as most worthy of your consideration, a cause worthy your efforts to further; this is to make co-education, now so widely adopted in our Western schools, colleges, and universities, also co-education in its truest and highest sense.

The importance of "University extension" in this direction, even throughout the teaching and governing body of all co-educational insti-

tutions, the justice and righteousness (which is nothing but the rightness of it) seems to me so apparent that I cannot believe there can be a soul here who would not desire to see all university co-education co-educating; one here, who is not already persuaded that women have a right to all the advantages of the highest education attainable, wherever such advantages may be had, on the sole claim that they are human beings, similarly and as highly endowed as man; and also a right to all the advantages that the highest education might secure to them in the use of it, through the practice of the arts and sciences, or in the various professions, on the same terms as men. Truly, it would seem like carrying coals to Newcastle to urge you to consider the importance of trying to secure or establish professorships, to be filled by women in our co-educational colleges. You have, I am sure, long since passed that mile-stone of progress.

But it seems to me that such a Council as this must be promotive of good in many ways, by helping each to get an outlook upon these things from our various points of view, to which we have come through our various experiences. Truly, there is only one thing in this world that is more uplifting than the friendship and mutual counsel of good women, and their soul union in every service of humanity, and that is the friendship of good and noble men and women, united to do the work of God for humanity in the world. For I am persuaded that whatsoever things are true, and humane, and holy must be done by men and women working together,—humanity for humanity, the whole for the whole, without choice or preference as to which half of the family shall be the special recipient of the good done. A higher womanhood means just as truly a higher manhood, a nobler humanity. But if either sex would be the recipients of the preponderant good that would come through the establishment of woman professorships in our co-educational colleges and universities, it would be the young men; for is there any greater good that the most ambitious, as well as intelligent and cultured mother could covet for her son, than the fine manners, conjoined with talents and intellectual culture, that would come through reverent association with superior, scholarly, cultured, matured women? In this the French people may furnish us a useful lesson; for among no people in the world is the influence of the mother more observable in the men of the nation than in France. Said an American woman, long a resident abroad, "The religion here in Italy and in France among men, when they have any religion, is the worship of the Madonna, in whom every man sees his own mother."

What if that mother had been his counsellor, teacher, superior, student, and thinker in the higher realms of thought, philosophy, literature, history, astronomy, or any of the sciences—medicine, for instance—in which so many American women have won distinction in foreign institutions?

Would not her influence have been greater over her son for the communication of a higher good, still more noble manners? There has not been a single branch taught in the co-educational University of Michigan, whose standard is as high as that of Harvard or Yale, except in the department of mining, and one other of which I am not sure, into which young women have not entered and kept equal pace with the young men up to the time of graduation, through a post-graduate or professional course of study. Several of the young women have often, after this, spent years abroad, in travel or in foreign institutions. Can any one tell why these young women should not be called back, as dozens of their brother classmates who stood below them in scholarship have been, to positions of honor in their Alma Mater? What was in the way of it but the prejudice of tradition, precedent, which we ought to have outlived in this, as in so many other things for which we have no use in our new age and our new republic.

Said the president (I give the story as it was related to me by one who thought she knew of its truth) to a professor in the same institution, whose daughter had, through study in a foreign institution, attained to honors and excellence in a department where an additional teacher was needed, "It is a pity your daughter was not a man; we should have just the place for her that she is so well fitted to fill." Can any one tell me *why* she should not fill it, especially when one-half or one-fourth of the students she would have been called upon to teach in her department would have been young women? There is no real reason, but a transmitted prejudice indulged in because people will not take the trouble to think on the subject, and for the foolish time-serving, world-serving reason that it is not yet the popular or quite the nice thing to favor. Moses Coit Tyler voices perfectly the prejudice against University extension in this direction in giving his ideas and his experience of co-education in Michigan University, where for several years he was a professor, and watched the results of the system there. He says, "There is a sort of young man who thinks it is 'not quite the thing, you know,' to be in a college where women are, and he goes away if he can, and I am glad to have him do so. The vacuum he causes by his departure is not a large one, and it is more than made up by the arrival, in his stead, of a more robust and manlier sort."

The author of our beautiful National Hymn, S. F. Smith, is a dear and revered personal friend of mine. Many years ago he gave me a manuscript copy of that hymn, which I prize among my choicest treasures bequeathed to my grandchildren. Most devoutly with the heart, truly, but not with the understanding, I used to sing,—

"My Country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of Liberty."

But there came a time when I could not sing these lines, for I had come to feel (I knew it in a manner before) that millions of my fellow-men, my father's children, my brothers and sisters, were slaves to their fellow-men; my brothers also, the former in abject slavery to the latter, subject to stripes and wrongs unspeakable that I had come to feel in my soul, and how could I sing that jubilant song since my eyes had been opened? Then I said in my heart, "These things cannot go on; I know that as God Our Father lives slavery must cease," and I never for a moment wavered from that conclusion.

The emancipation of women from different slavery was the next question, leading ever onward and upward, what Goethe calls the woman soul, through questionings that will never cease to be put to us, if we go on with our faces towards the light; and since I have come to see and consider what seems to me the true bearings of the women suffrage question upon the welfare of all our Father's family in the world, I have never wavered from the conclusion that this must come, also, as well as higher education; that a new era for women is at hand. But, O my sisters, what manner of women ought those to be who shall lead in this new age and give it its character!

Through educational experiences of more than fifty years there has grown in me a finer conscience, and I am not satisfied to see young women for whom I helped pave the way to the grand advantages of our university, and some of whom in every class have graduated the most distinguished for scholarship of any in their class,—I am not content to see these set aside from their rightful and well-earned honors and reward of being called back to professorships in their Alma Mater, or called to professorships in other colleges of equal grade as scores of their less scholarly brother classmates have been,—set aside, for the sole reason that they were women. This savors too much of the barbarism of the past.

I would by no means have them receive appointments because they are women, but, having made equal attainments and possessing equal fitness in every way for a professorship as a brother alumnus candidate, true justice requires that being a woman should not be a hinderance to receiving the appointment.

A letter lies before me as I write, written me long since by the first girl that was admitted to Michigan University, telling me of the severity of her examination, to enter the Freshman class in which she was given senior studies, by no means given to the young men, and that at her first recitation in her college class she was given to translate before the class this sentence from the Antigone of Sophocles (she has quoted the beautifully penned Greek, I give only her translation):

"But it behooves us, in the first place, to consider this, that by nature we are women, so not able to contend with men; and in the next place,

since we are governed by those stronger than we, it behooves us to submit to these things, and things still more grievous than these."

But there are more than four hundred girls now where Miss Stockwell was alone and none to tell her story to.

So, in the course of justice, such college discipline for women, and revilings for her resolution to go to college, will cease, and every hinderance to a woman's filling any place for which she is fitted will be entirely removed. I cannot believe that this Woman Century will close without our witnessing in our Michigan University and in Harvard and Yale a greater advance upon the ideas of to-day even, than our to-day is upon the day of Miss Stockwell's examination to enter Michigan University. In short, I do not think it is too much to believe that ere the nineteenth century closes it will be no astonishing thing to see in all co-educational colleges and universities, at least, women professors, in full membership of the Faculty, as trustees and as regents, and no question as to propriety of their being where they are. The world was never moving so fast as it is now.

I did not myself, when I earnestly persuaded Miss Stockwell to ask admission to the University, and so test the eligibility of women to its privileges, see further than this, that if a father paid taxes for the support of a State institution, in order that his children might there have the privileges of the broadest education without charge, all his children—daughters as well as sons—should have an equal right to these privileges, just as much as they should, if needed, have an equal right to the privileges and care of our State asylum for the insane.

But I now see and feel that an institution is not really co-educational until it is *co-educating*,—until men and women both and together form the teaching force and influence of that institution,—until the girls in the University can be brought into association with superior, cultivated, scholarly, accomplished women in the faculty of teachers, as well as men of the same grade of scholarly attainments.

Now that hundreds of girls are in the University and the experiment is before us, it does not seem right or proper, nor for their best good, that they should be almost entirely shut out, for the space of four years, from all association with women who shall stand to them somewhat in the relation of an older, wiser friend or mother, as well as teacher. In short, it seems well and proper and needful that among one hundred and twenty professors and instructors, more than four hundred young women should claim that some proportion of these teachers should be women, to whom they can more naturally and familiarly resort for counsel and advice in a thousand matters than they can to the very best and wisest of men.

Secondly, many have been led by this first step of admitting women to the same course of study as men, and in which the former have fully

kept up with the latter, sometimes excelling them, to see and feel that there is a wrong done not only to them, but to the world, in shutting them out from all proper use of their high attainments, which they, by the privileges already given them, have been in a manner enticed to make. For while many young men, not so noted for either natural gifts or scholarly attainments during their course of study as some of their young women classmates, have been invited back as instructors and professors in the same institution, the highest and most gratifying compliment that could possibly be paid them, the young women graduates have been obliged to take inferior positions in high schools and seminaries of lower grade, and their best attainments, which are what the world needs, and for which they labored as assiduously as the young men, are in a measure lost to the world, or at least they are misplaced and are but half felt. This is a wrong not to these young women alone, but to the world, for the world is thereby defrauded of the best talent employed in the right place, and we can no more do a moral or an intellectual or a spiritual wrong without harmful consequences than we can misplace any force in physics without loss or similar harmful consequences. The highest welfare of society needs the best gifts of all its members, and each working usefully in its right place. We are slow to perceive these truths, but for all that, they work their sure consequences in the social and the moral world. There are many young women among the alumnæ of our universities and colleges now fully qualified to be instructors, or indeed to fill full professorships there. Is it right that their talents and high attainments should be lost to the students just because old customs have proscribed women from filling such places? Are we not, young America, set to introduce better customs into the world in this as in other respects?

Many petitions to this end have been addressed to the Regents of Michigan University. To doubt that they will be heeded and granted some time would be to misunderstand the spirit of the new age into which we are come. They will probably, like many other petitions addressed to those in power, be heeded when they must be, or when it would be impolitic to ignore them. Man's self-interest, or policy, or expediency has often been God's opportunity to accomplish a divine purpose. It was self-interest, the basest policy of the basest of kings, that established Protestantism in England. It was a military necessity, not man's humaneness or sense of justice, that abolished slavery in our country; it was a politic measure that admitted Wyoming, not that either party wanted to bring her larger ideas of liberty into our Union.

Facts like these are as thick as the leaves that strew the ground in autumn, all through the history of the past; and that the power that makes for righteousness in the world will establish right in this matter I have the fullest confidence, so evidently to me does this step of progress

seem included in that even-handed justice prophesied of in the symbol worn by the gods and kings of Egypt six thousand years ago, in that oneness prayed for by Jesus: "that they may be one even as we are one" (one in mind, love, interest, design, says the commentator), that oneness of humanity, oneness of the spirit of which the Apostle speaks, and all a part of "that divine event towards which the whole creation moves."

MISS WILLARD. The next in order is "A New Phase of the Higher Education of Women in America: Barnard College." The subject will be treated by Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, of New York City.

A NEW PHASE OF WOMAN'S EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER. The affiliated college is not indigenous in America. Coming to us from other shores, it has been greeted by us as a stranger, and not a very welcome one. I purpose to-day to explain the character and genius of this stranger, and to change the cold glances and half-hearted recognition into a hearty grasp of the hand, a cordial acknowledgment that from other shores can come new sources of stimulus and growth.

I have not assumed an easy task; the affiliated college stands midway between the college for women on the one hand, and the co-educational college on the other. You will call it a compromise, possibly it is. The chief difficulty with a compromise is that, escaping as it does the violent opposition of either adversary, it must also renounce the enthusiastic support of both. At best, it must accept the difficult platform of courteous indifference. On the one side, the co-educationalists scorn the necessity for any separation of the sexes; on the other, the believers in the college for women wax equally wroth at the acknowledged dependence upon a college for men.

The affiliated college is the outcome of two things: first, the necessity for correct standards in the education of women; second, the English University system. We all know that there is such a thing as an established standard in England; we all know that a new college, endowed there with no matter how many millions, could not hope for a very long time to obtain the rank and prestige of the two great Universities. Possibly it may reflect on the narrowness of the English mind that it cannot grasp all the potential grandeur and omniscience that lie in the young college born of yesterday; possibly it points to a deficiency in their vision that the English people cannot so readily see into the future. Or can it be that our own far-sightedness might need correcting-glasses quite as much as the myopia of the English?

As early as 1850 England had two separate colleges for women, Queen's and Bedford. But the general hopeless condition of the girls' schools was not materially improved by the existence of these colleges. It was not

until a wave of indignation swept over the entire country, some twelve years later, insisting that the standard of female education must be raised, that a movement was started which did finally succeed not only in creating a correct standard, but, in fact, in revolutionizing the whole subject of woman's education and in enlarging the entire sphere of woman.

This movement was the opening of the Local Examinations of the University of Cambridge, in 1863, to girls; a movement which was soon after followed by the more conservative University of Oxford. The University tests were recognized everywhere; they became current coin. The low standards and thoroughly inadequate training of the girls' schools were henceforth to be impossible. Not only did these examinations create a much-needed stardard, but they also served to prepare the public mind in the only way then possible to accept the idea of the education of women beyond that of the school. The logical outcome of this movement to open the University examinations to women was to furnish in some way the proper instruction for them. Hence, in 1869, the first affiliated college was opened, Girton College, affiliated with the University of Cambridge. At the present moment there exist two colleges affiliated with the University of Cambridge, and I think there has lately been added a third to the two at the University of Oxford. I am not reading a paper on the English Universities, it is sufficient to give the natural history of the affiliated college. First we find the necessity for correct standards in the education of women; second, the admission of women to the University examinations in order to create this correct standard; third, the opening of colleges to women to furnish the instruction for the examinations.

The same sequence has taken place here in America. A body of people in Boston, seeing the necessity for correct standards in the education of women, established the system of local examinations for Harvard College. These were first held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, later in New York, Philadelphia, and other large cities. After five years' test the third stage was reached, and it was proposed to provide for the instruction as well as the examination. The Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women by the Professors and other Instructors of Harvard College was founded in 1878, and governs what is usually dubbed the "Harvard Annex."

The Harvard examinations doubtless have had a large influence on the girls' schools in the cities in which they have been held; but it is impossible to expect for them the same wide-spreading influence as the English examinations. The centrifugal forces—if I may call them so—at work in our college system to-day forbid this. Where is there one college—or where are there even two colleges—the traditions of which will be accepted throughout our entire country?

We see in the Harvard Annex, in 1878, the first appearance in America of our stranger,—the affiliated college. What is an affiliated college? I suppose I can no longer put off answering that question, notwithstanding the difficulty of arriving at a definition that will accurately describe the three American affiliated colleges when each one represents a different phase of the same system. Some one has said the *raison d'être* of the affiliated college is "the economy which applies to a new purpose resources already organized and tested." I shall define the affiliated college as a college that exists in order to extend to women the advantages of some neighboring college or university for men. Educationally, the affiliated college has no separate existence from that of the University with which it is affiliated. In its chartered organization, in its financial administration, and in its physical position only is it separate. An important point to remember in defining the affiliated college is that it may or may not have received any official recognition from the University with which it is affiliated. Such official recognition is not an essential attribute of the affiliated college.

I shall boldly add that the affiliated college system seizes the essential principles of both the co-educational college and the separate college for women. "What," you say, "this despised stranger, this mere makeshift, dares to claim for itself the essential principles of both the co-educational college and the separate college for women? This is claimed for a college which neither dares to merge itself wholly in a college for men nor yet to stand forth bravely alone, for a system which weakly holds on to the college for men, as a tender nursling to its parent's hand! This is a disgraceful position for a woman's college at the end of the nineteenth century, and should not be countenanced!"

But as I take it, the true essential of the co-educational college is the identity of standard in education, not the identity of sex. The co-educational college has had an immense influence in proving that women can attain to the same intellectual heights as men, in proving that the physical and mental strain is no harder on the one sex than on the other, and in silencing forever an immense amount of twaddle that used to be uttered periodically upon the subject of woman's education. But our greatest debt to the co-educational college lies in the fact that it has created and sustained a single educational standard for both men and women. I never could really believe that the boast of the co-educational college could be that the men and women receive their instruction at precisely the same instant and in precisely the same class-room. Surely these are non-essentials, and I am right in saying that the true essential of the co-educational college is the creation of a single educational standard for both men and women. And this I claim is also the true essential of the affiliated college.

Thus we see the co-educational college and the affiliated college aiming for the same result, the creating of the one educational standard for men and women.

And in the same way, I never could bring myself to believe that the essential principle of the separate college for women could be to prove that women can get along very well without men, or that women can succeed in having magnificent buildings and large endowments.

The true essential of the separate college for women, as I take it, is the simplification of the social machinery as compared with that of the co-educational college.

Now, when I speak of co-educational, I must confess that I speak from the unenlightened point of view of the Easterner. I must emphasize that I can speak of the system only as I see it in the East. I understand that it *is* the simplest and most natural method in the West. I understand that the graduate of the separate college there is more apt to be the subject of remark than the graduate of the co-educational college. I hope some day to be able to study the effects of co-education as they appear in the Western States, but until then, and belonging as I do to what Professor Bryce refers to as the "more complex civilization of the East," I am forced to limit my observations to co-education as it appears in my part of the country.

I am aware that I am guilty of heresy in claiming for the separate college the attributes of simplicity and unconsciousness. I know that the co-educationalists look upon their method as the only simple and natural one; I know further that they look upon the separate college as the highly artificial and unnatural result of a highly artificial and unnatural civilization. But we women are very apt to run away with an idea, and to argue upon what ought to be rather than what is. The question is not, *Ought* co-education to be the natural and simple method of educating men and women? not, *Ought* the two sexes to receive their education together in a thoroughly harmonious and natural way? but it is, *Is* co-education natural and simple? *Do* the sexes receive their education together in a thoroughly harmonious and natural way? Now, judging as well as I can from my unenlightened point of view of what I have seen and heard of co-education, it is not the most simple and natural method,—at least to-day.

It seems to me that there is really nothing more important at this stage of woman's progress than that women should take their new privileges a little more simply and naturally, as unconsciously and with as little effort as possible. And it seems to me that the young girl pursuing her studies along with those of her sex, with the whole vexed question untouched (for, remember, I am not speaking of a part of the country where they tell me it has ceased to be a question), without the self-con-

sciousness that must come of the self-restraint and additional restrictions that are placed upon her, and the feeling that so many critical eyes are watching the experiment,—it seems to me, I repeat, that this young girl is acquiring her education in a more simple and natural way than her sister who goes to the co-educational college. Now, if we can combine the simplicity and unconsciousness that are the essentials of the separate college for women with the identity of standard that is the essential of the co-educational college, I should think we have arrived at a very good thing, and we *have* the affiliated college, which, notwithstanding a tendency on the part of America to dub it an Annex, *is* a very good thing.

After this glance at the principle of the affiliated college, let us glance at the three types of the system as they exist to-day in America. The first, as I have said before, is the Harvard Annex, founded in 1878 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which is governed by an incorporated society, the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women by the Professors and other Instructors of Harvard College. This society has no official connection whatever with Harvard College. Go to Harvard, and the officials will tell you there that the Annex has nothing whatever to do with the College; they will further inform you that the Annex is not even affiliated with Harvard College. In this latter position some well-known educators will concur, but I am strongly of the opinion, after giving some thought and attention to the subject, that the official recognition on the part of the University does not, in any way, affect the fact of affiliation. Neither Newnham nor Girton has received official recognition from the University of Cambridge, and yet they are the founders of the system, and in some ways they possess advantages over any affiliated colleges in the world. These colleges exist in order to "extend to women the advantages of a neighboring college for men," they are separately chartered, and they are under separate financial administration; therefore I have called them affiliated colleges. Notwithstanding the lack of official connection between Harvard and the "Annex," there are fourteen Professors and Instructors of Harvard College in charge of the lectures given at the Annex. The University Library is open by courtesy to the students of the Annex, and so far as possible the museums and observatory. The students of the Annex may take special courses, without reference to the regular collegiate course; out of the one hundred and sixty-four students at present, one hundred and nineteen are specials.

It is important to remember that the students of the Harvard Annex do not receive any degree; they receive a degree-certificate from the governing society, which reads practically to the effect that so-and-so has met every requirement necessary to receive the degree that is granted by the University of Harvard except for the lamentable deficiency in sex.

The second affiliated college is Evelyn College, affiliated in 1888 with

the University of New Jersey, at Princeton. This new affiliated college differs from the "Annex" in the fact that it is incorporated as a College, not as a Society, and in that its connection with the College for men is somewhat more formal, the President of the University of New Jersey being on its Board, although it has never received any real official recognition. Another new feature of Evelyn is that it confers its own degrees upon its graduated. Now, this is a very important feature, and one that in my eyes stamps the institution as lacking in the true essential of the affiliated college, which is the identity of standard in the education of men and women. To my thinking, this identity of standard is best accomplished by the affiliated college in maintaining for women exactly the same curriculum and examination tests as are maintained for men. The separate college for women, it is true, can by care and determination eventually establish a high standard of its own; but the affiliated college that seeks to extend to women the advantages of a man's college by employing its instructors, but that offers a cheaper degree, is not doing the very *best* thing possible, it seems to me, to create one standard for men and women. The head mistress of Evelyn College writes to me:

"You will understand how impossible it is for girls to accomplish the same course of study in the same length of time as the boys do, if they try to do anything at Music or Art, therefore we have found it necessary to have our own, or what we call the Evelyn College Course, which differs from the Princeton course in allowing Music and Art to be pursued as regular electives, and in not insisting upon Greek."

Not only is the Evelyn degree given for less than is demanded by Princeton, but of the students that attend Evelyn, twenty-five are special students; and only seven are regular students, working for the Evelyn degree. The same lady further announces that it is very difficult to influence the students to pursue regular college work, and that they (Evelyn College) are "having a *great* fight against superficial education for girls." Certainly the way to exert real influence and to carry on a real fight is to insist rigorously upon definite standards.

It is always an ungracious task to criticise the methods of a college, and especially is it so when the critic is a trustee of another college. But I have felt it of the greatest importance that the true aims and methods of the affiliated college should be rightly understood; and it is necessary to distinguish between false and true methods.

And now we come to the third and latest example of the affiliated college in America,—Barnard College, affiliated with Columbia College. Barnard College was chartered July, 1889, and is governed by a Board of Trustees consisting of an equal number of men and women. Instruction is given by Professors and Instructors designated or approved by the President of Columbia College, and its students receive the Columbia

degrees. At the present moment all the instruction is given by officers of Columbia College, with the exception of one woman, a graduate of Cornell and of the University of Zürich, and a well-known specialist, who, having received official recognition from the Trustees of Columbia as Lecturer on the Physiology and Anatomy of Plants, is the head of the Department of Botany at Barnard College.

There is nothing more important to understand than that educationally Barnard College is Columbia College: its students follow the same curriculum and pass the same examinations which are prepared by Columbia College for its students of both sexes. There exists the heartiest good-will between the two colleges, and nothing could possibly be more cordial. When the inauguration of Mr. Low took place, the students of Barnard College were present, and they rose and cheered him with the students of the other sex, I can vouch for it, as long and as lustily. I want to impress upon you all the cordial relation that exists between Columbia and Barnard, because nothing is more general than the impression that an affiliated college is always tolerated, not welcomed, and that it can be nothing more than an undignified makeshift.

I have called my paper "A New Phase of Woman's Education in America." I might have referred to the comparatively new phase of education, the affiliated college; but in fact I referred to the existence of Barnard College as a new phase, because it is a new phase of the affiliated system,—Barnard College is the first affiliated college for women that has received official recognition from the parent college, and the first upon whose graduates the degrees of the parent college will be conferred. I am sure, even if some of you are not in sympathy with the methods of the affiliated college, all of you will feel with me that this is a great gain. We have been accused of being possessed of an unscholarly worship of the degree,—I am afraid our critics cannot be said to be wholly disinterested, but I think you will free us from that imputation. The degree, of course, should not be the value of the college education, but, after all, it ought to mean just as much to a woman as to a man. And the sort of work that is not officially recognized is not only apt to be looked down upon, but I honestly think is more liable to deterioration. Columbia has been the first of the old revolutionary colleges to confer "equal recognition for equal work," and I think it may boast thereof with an honest pride.

I warn you that you have done a very venturesome thing in asking me to speak to you about Barnard College; you might have known that you would never get me to stop speaking. There are so many different points of view from which to speak of Barnard,—which shall I choose? Let me first say a few words on Barnard and its relation to New York City. Probably very few of you will be willing to admit that New York is the

metropolis in anything other than size; I am not so sure that the people from Chicago will even willingly grant that. The Bostonians will comfort themselves in the belief that quality is more important than quantity, and those from the Pacific coast will take refuge in the unknown and mighty future. But, however you may all look upon New York, the very fact that it does contain so many thousand souls; the very fact that it draws to it so many of our best women in the pursuance of their professions must lend an interest to the only real college for women that exists within its gates. And further, the influence that Barnard is exerting over the city may extend and be an influence for good all over the country. I sincerely trust it may.

It is evident that the existence of Barnard College is felt in New York. Parents who thought college education meant four years away from home are now willing that their daughters should have another opening in life besides society and philanthropy. Therefore training-schools all over the country are beginning to open collegiate classes, and the gap between the school and the college is slowly filling up. A general awakening is going on; low standards that were formerly accepted are being now gradually renounced. In fact, among a large number there existed such a vagueness of opinion regarding the true scope of the college, that such a thing as a real college standard can hardly be said to have existed. Students that could not possibly have gained admission to our Freshman year applied for admission into our Graduate Department. Generally, the more lamentably deficient the preparation, the more abstruse were the graduate studies called for.

It seems to me there lies food for many sermons in that plain recital of facts. I don't mean to poke fun at those young ladies that come to us for advanced courses in philosophy; it is not their fault, they have probably done the best they could under the circumstances. It is pathetic, not laughable. You can have no idea what Barnard is accomplishing in New York in the doing away with this very thing. You can have no idea of the hundreds of ill-trained, or rather untrained, women that come to us, women of all ages, women with husbands and often families, that come to us, aimless, ignorant, hopeless, with one cry, "Tell us what to do! Give us something to study! Do something for us!" And I tell you the tears come in our eyes when we answer, "Too late! we can do nothing for you!"

Is this not the tragedy of our sex? These hundreds, thousands, of women brought up in darkness, and now reaching forth with eyes whose nerves have become atrophied, asking for the light which they will never be able to see? Oh, the waste of human energy that has been going on!

Barnard has refused to be a mere refuge for dissatisfied women. It feels that it has a nobler mission; it can do nothing for these women of

to-day if it wants to prevent the existence of such women in the future. Do you realize what it means to boldly make this refusal? Not only there is the pity of it, but there is the very practical side of it; it is heroic in a college one and a half years old with an endowment only partially raised, and begging for the money to pay its current expenses, to resist the temptation of having large classes when it knows crowded rooms mean success with the public. Barnard refuses special students except in laboratory work and in the post-graduate courses. It believes in fixed standards in order to correct the general diffusiveness of woman's study, it believes in general culture before specialization. I think it is important that both men and women in America should be less ready to specialize, particularly less ready to enter the professions without adequate preparation. I think it is even more important for women than for men. I believe that the real value of specialized work must lie in the university. I do not believe in the kind of so-called specialization that begins with the Freshman.

At present, Columbia demands Greek during three years. It is impossible to speak now of the Columbia of the future. We all, who know it as it is to-day, feel that it is in a transition state; we believe that under its present leadership it will rise to be a university of which our entire country will be proud. We know that wise minds and trained judgments are doing what is possible to best fit Columbia for the needs of the day. Even now, it is possible to say that Columbia is more generous in electives in the Junior year than it has been before, and it has introduced a new feature in the Senior year which seems to me to be a happy solution of the great question now agitating the colleges in America, the reconciliation of scholarly training for professional life with the practical demands of to-day. The Senior class pursue their studies under any University faculties which they elect.

You will readily see that this provision for professional training in the Senior year is a most interesting one to Barnard; it opens up the whole question of professional training for women. I feel that it would be indiscreet at this early period in our history to predict just what attitude Columbia will assume towards women in the professional schools. I may express my own personal and unofficial opinion that I firmly believe in throwing open to women every profession that is open to men, that I want to see them receive the very best training for them, and that I think a true University for Women must offer such training.

I have spoken only slightly of University work at Barnard College, for we are too young to have accomplished much. At present there are ten graduate courses open to our students for which the degree of Ph.D. may be received. A student can also work at Barnard in graduate courses without taking the full requirements for the graduate degree. As I have

said before, specialization is permitted in work that is really specialized. The fact that Columbia College offers its University degrees to women points to the great future usefulness of Barnard College. Many will claim that a large city is not the place for a college, but I agree with the President of Columbia that it will be an advantage for the manhood, for the educated womanhood of America, that some men and some women get their education in the midst of the atmosphere of a great city. You will remember that our great poet, Longfellow, has made answer, the "scholar should live *not* in the green stillness of the country where he can hear the heart of nature beat," *but* in "the dark gray city where he can hear and feel the throbbing heart of man." *There* should the scholar live.

And a great university, perhaps I should add particularly in its professional schools, can best fulfil its mission, can best attract to it the really advanced students and the really advanced teachers in the midst of a great city.

You will ask, "How can such work be repeated? How can the precious hours of a really advanced teacher be spent in repeating his lectures to women, or, if not repeated, how can double staffs of really advanced teachers be secured for one university?" I will answer that the university work that *can* be repeated separately for women cannot be real university work, rather but a faint shadow of it. But it seems to me that co-education means quite another thing as it is applied to university work. The spectacle of university lectures attended by mature men and women can raise no greater horror than that of the usual evening lecture, where the men and women, having purchased their tickets, sit by one another simply and naturally. It is the same thing precisely, only the word, co-education, never happens to appear.

The students of the affiliated colleges, Girton and Newnham, although entirely unrecognized by the University of Cambridge, yet are now admitted by courtesy to ninety-two of the regular University lectures, embracing forty-seven different subjects. Among the lecturers extending this courtesy are some of the best-known Cambridge men.

Now, all this is accomplished by an entirely unrecognized affiliated college, and only by the courtesy of the Professors of the University. It is easily imagined how much more could be accomplished by an affiliated college that is officially recognized, and whose students are not suffered by courtesy, but accepted as candidates for all degrees.

Barnard is only one and a half years old; it is impossible to say to-day what will be its influence on the women of this country; but I would like to say something of what I would like its influence to be, and what influences are necessary. I have spoken of the necessity for correct standards in the education of women, I also plead a necessity for the doing away with a false sentimentality in places where it has no legitimate right.

Have we quite reached the point where we can calmly and critically weigh the value of so-called new triumphs and openings for women? Are we not very apt to have a warm place in our hearts for an institution that may open its doors to women, no matter if it thereby acquires an importance that would otherwise be impossible? Are we not too ready to receive any stray crumbs that may be thrown to us, and too willing to overvalue the actual progress made?

I say that women are no longer in a pioneer state. Surely the brave struggle that has been going on since the days of Emma Willard has put us in a position where we can refuse everything but what is worthy of us. If we hold out long enough in our refusal, the best will come to us. But I do not think women are sufficiently sincere in wanting the whole world to progress. I think many would like the world to stand still a bit, while one-half of civilization catches up with the other half. This is narrow and wrong. We cannot take one real step ahead as a sex without the entire world advancing with us. The admission of women to the future medical school of Johns Hopkins is a real step ahead; with it the whole world advances nobly.

Olive Schreiner in one of her wonderfully powerful "Dreams" has shadowed forth the destiny of Womanhood. As her Woman, after countless sacrifices, at last stands on the bank of the river that separates her from the land of Freedom, she listens to the distant tread of thousands and thousands of feet following her to the water's edge. She asks,—

"Over the bridge which shall be built with our bodies, who will pass?"

And Reason makes answer,—"The entire Human Race."

With true prophetic insight he is not content to say merely, "The rest of your sex;" but over the bridge built by the renunciation, the courage, and the determination of Womanhood will walk the entire Human Race. Let us look to it that we build strongly and well.

THE PRESIDENT. We have constantly to report our good fortune in the matter of Auxiliaries: the number is constantly changing; but at the present time there are ninety-one delegates, including fraternal delegates. Among them there are eleven missionary societies, all evangelical, represented by twelve delegates.

We are to hear now from Mrs. Alice Gordon Gulick, a missionary in Spain for nineteen years, under the auspices of the American Board, and latterly the woman's branch of the same of the Congregationalist Church, —the wife of Rev. William Gulick, a well-known missionary whose family, as you who read missionary news are aware, has been devoted to evangelizing in foreign countries, and Spain especially, for two generations, and with remarkable success. Her home is in San Sebastian, on the coast of Spain, which answers in that kingdom to our watering-place of Newport. Mrs. Gulick's subject will be, "A Woman's College in Spain,"—the

creation of her own inspiration and ministration, in which devoted and earnest work she has labored for years, and which is to be much greater in the future. I am sure you will lend interested attention to this dear friend and returned missionary.

A WOMAN'S COLLEGE IN SPAIN.

ALICE GORDON GULICK. The word *Spain* brings before our minds a land of romance, of architecture, and of art. No country has been peopled by more distinct nations. Its history carries us into the remote past.

Standing beside the cyclopean rocks which underlie the wall of Tarragona, we may look upon the graves of the Scipios below upon the plain.

Roman roads and Roman mines, a Roman amphitheatre and a recently discovered necropolis, transport us in imagination to the brilliant days of the Cæsars.

From the myriad-columned mosque of Cordoba, once illumined with the light from innumerable silver lamps, we learn the power and wealth of the Moor. Not less instructive is the fact that the *rega* of Granada, over which the conquering Christian army rode to take possession of the city, is still watered by the irrigating system established by that remarkable people. The same bell rings from the *torre de la rela* on the heights of the Alhambra for the Castilian *paisano*, that centuries ago told the Moor that it was time for him to turn the water into the garden of his neighbor.

The American architect seeks in Spain the classic forms of Romanesque and Gothic art, which are to-day beautifying our great cities.

There is not time to speak of Velasques, and of Murillo and his soulful pictures; of Cervantes and his inimitable play upon words; of Cal deron de la Barca and Lope de Vega in the world of letters.

Spain at the time of the discovery of America was the greatest nation in the world. This is Spain of the past. But to come down to modern times. Well was it for Théophile Gautier to write his "Journey into Spain" comfortably ensconced in his easy-chair on the other side of the Pyrenees. Taine says, "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," perhaps because he saw, as I have seen, a woman and a cow harnessed together drawing the plough.

To seek for the causes of the condition of Spain to-day, we must *study* its history, and especially from the time of that misguided monarch, Philip II., whose name will go down to all time unblessed! Isabella, wise beyond her time, had encouraged learning. In this presence it may be said that through her influence women occupied chairs in the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. Philip II., jealous of foreign influence, and with a policy of repression, discouraged education and prohibited inter-

course with foreign institutions of learning, and the fires of the Inquisition reached and consumed many of those devoted to letters.

For three hundred years the pall of ignorance has lain over the land. But within twenty-five years Spain has shaken off the heavy weight, and we begin to see the sterling character of her thoughtful people. Liberty of conscience and liberty of the press have come, never to be withdrawn again while God's sun shines. On the old fifteenth-century houses of Salamanca, the famous university city, where formerly were as many students as there are now inhabitants, are to be seen the Edison incandescent burners,—fit types of the light that we, the more favored people of America, should shed in that land so long shrouded in the dense darkness of ignorance and superstition.

Spain has provided for the education of girls, but in a limited way. The children in the public schools are taught to read and write, and to repeat prayers. The girls add to these prayers, sewing, and very little else. There are no *free* high schools for either boys or girls. The taxes for examinations and the prices of text-books, which are the professors' monopolies, make such a course of study practically prohibitory for the working-classes (with average wages of twenty cents a day), so the sixty-five per cent. of illiteracy reported in national statistics need not surprise us. A few normal schools, which are good of their kind, exist for girls, but they are in the capitals and under the control of the church. A *girl*, therefore, is not expected to know much. She must dress prettily and flirt her fan gracefully. A knowledge of history or geography is not essential to that accomplishment. She might not know the capital cities of Europe, but she would know how to walk!

A boarding-school was therefore begun some ten years ago for the *higher Christian* education of girls. At first the standard was low; it was necessarily so: but with the years it has been raised. Last September the advanced class of four went before the State Institute for boys of the province of Guipuzcoa, located at San Sebastian, and passed the entrance examinations, and in the studies of the first year. Two of these girls received in every study the mark of *sobre saliente*, or the highest mark given by the institution. They expect to take their degree of A.B. in 1892. Thousands of girls are passing these examinations every year in our own land, as a matter of course. This was the first time in history that Spanish girls, prepared in a woman's school, passed successfully the examination of a school for boys.

It was a nine days' wonder in the city. The director of the institute said, "*Qué clase de niñas nos envia Vd.!*"—"What kind of girls you send us!"—as though they were a special variety.

Aside from the Spanish girls, a few French have been members of the school. They came to learn English, one German to learn Spanish,

some Spaniards to learn French, and last, but not least, some American college graduates to learn Spanish.

"Give us the children," one has said, "and we have the nation." Give Spain a model school for the higher Christian education of her daughters, and you help a nation looking for the light.

"The swift-coming womanhood, wifehood, motherhood of these little maids and such as these, is to be a power for good or ill in the life of their country, and Spain needs women with higher interests than the bull-fight, and consciences above the confessional."

Men and women of wealth are giving liberally in these latter days for education. But the tendency is to give where we may see and admire our gift. We like to have it near, to ask after its health now and then, and to have it at times conscious of our presence and personality. There are also men and women of means who are not easily parted from their money; perhaps because of their make-up.

The *Popular Science Monthly* vouches for a definition of the body as given by a pupil in a public school as follows: "The body is mostly composed of water, and about one-half is avaricious tissue."

That is not true of all! One of the most wonderful facts in the evolution of woman's work has been her self-denial, her generosity in reaching out to help also her more needy sisters in foreign lands, and, as the horizon widens, more will be done. The successful experiments in this land will be repeated in all nations and in all tongues.

The Queen Isabella Association plans grandly and wisely to remember the part a woman took in making the vision of Columbus a reality. Let there be a monument to the woman and the Queen!

Columbus should also be remembered in a permanent structure which shall keep forever before our minds the perseverance, the faith, the earnestness of his character, that shed the brightest glory upon his name.

But let us not be selfish in our gratitude, and keep all the monuments on this side of the water.

How fitting it would be that one of the lasting results of such a commemorative year as 1892 should be a permanent, a model school, an offering of love and gratitude from the women of America to their sisters in Spain!

Our loved President said, in the opening session of this Council, that the lines of woman's work converge, and are united here by the circle represented in this Council as the spokes of a wheel by the tire,—may I vary the figure?

In this latter part of the nineteenth century, the converging lines of woman's work are held together by a band of love that encircles the whole globe. And those lines find closer union in the centre of light

from which they converge, the great heart of love which proceedeth from God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.

THE PRESIDENT. We are now to have a paper on "Woman's Progress in Higher Education," by Helen L. Webster, Doctor of Philosophy, the degree having been conferred by Zürich University. Miss Webster was a professor in comparative philology in Vassar and Wellesley Colleges.

WOMAN'S PROGRESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION.

HELEN L. WEBSTER. "Every presentiment of the mind is executed somewhere in a gigantic fact."

The truth of these words, spoken more than fifty years ago by our great philosopher and poet Emerson, is nowhere more strikingly demonstrated than in the history of woman's work in America.

All action is, we know, but the outward expression of thought, all progress has first been developed in the secret recesses of the soul; the outer changes which we recognize as progress are but the more or less perfect visible adaptation to the unseen ideal.

That marvellous page in the world's history which tells of woman's aspirations after a broader life, a freer existence, shows us how unerringly the fact fits the idea, how, as the ideas grow large, the realities grow large, how, finally, in this new and last decade of the nineteenth century, the "gigantic fact" of woman's attainment gives testimony of the high ideals of woman's soul.

That some portion at least of all this great sum of woman's activity might become more broadly known in these days, that knowledge of it might perchance find its way into foreign lands, giving there its encouragement of precedent and success, and that to generations yet to come it might furnish both knowledge and inspiration wherewith to attain to higher things, it has occurred to one bright young mind among our number to gather up and put together the available history of each of the grand movements that are so full of power in our day.

In the realization of this happy thought the ablest and most brilliant women have given their assistance, women whose lives have been spent in high thought and noble action, each of whom has won for herself an honorable place in her chosen field of labor, and we have before us a valuable record of one of the most important and interesting movements of our day. I refer to the book entitled "Woman's Work in America," edited by Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer.

The introductory words of Mrs. Howe note three important phases of change which the higher intellectual training of women with its consequent larger opportunities and broader experience has wrought in recent years. First, the increased respect of all classes of women for labor. Women no longer feel that to be idle is to be respectable; they have

come to believe, with Emerson, that true majesty consists in work, that the best ornament which a woman can have is *what she can do*, and that she adds to her dignity by doing it. "The cruel kindness," says Mrs. Howe, "of the doctrine that women should be worked for, and should not work, that their influence should be felt, but not recognized, that they should hear and see, but neither appear nor speak,—all this belongs now to the record of things which, once measurably true, have become fabulous."

The second note of progress is one that causes every true-hearted woman to rejoice,—it is the increased sympathy and good-will of women towards one another. Upon this, more than upon any other *one thing*, hangs the hope of the future; until *woman* wishes woman's highest good, and lends a hand, there is but small prospect of full success; while, on the other hand, their *united* force is irresistible.

The third is finally a more intelligent and harmonious use of their powers in all philanthropic and industrial undertakings, to say nothing of their ever-increasing fitness in the various professions.

This brief *résumé* of three general aspects of progress introduces us to a series of studies whose purpose it is to give the history of the great movements in which woman has had a share. They treat of woman in education, in literature, in journalism, in medicine, in politics, in law, in industry, in philanthropy, and, finally, in the ministry.

In each and all of them we hear of steady striving towards the end in view, of heroic struggle against prejudice, distrust, indifference, and selfishness, of courageous holding of ground once gained, and in no case is there cause to blush because woman has been compelled to see that she has imprudently or too confidently aspired to rise beyond the level of her capacity to do, or to get beyond the limits of her sphere; in no case has she had to return again, humbled, baffled, conquered, to her forsaken tasks of darning and pleasing, but her course has proved that the limits of her sphere are coincident with the limits of her capacity.

As in all great movements not only action, but reaction, exerts its influence, so in the movement in question has each attainment reacted upon the ideal; the conception of the possible has become enlarged, and has in turn been followed by larger results; thus the series has moved on till we find ourselves at the present moment looking over the vast field of accomplished fact, and feeling inspired by it to a new enthusiasm for the future.

It would be a pleasure on this occasion to review briefly the courageous and successful labors of the pioneers in all the varied lines of effort; but the special task assigned me for this hour is to note the progress that has been made by women in education.

The beginning of the struggle in our country was made, as is well

known, in New England. To the earliest settlers of Massachusetts it did not occur to provide means of education for their daughters,—the boys alone constituted in their minds the "youth" for whose welfare they were concerned. The "idea" of giving girls the chance to know, of training them to think, had not yet dawned upon the mental horizon of either the men or the women of that day. Old England did not educate her girls, why should it occur to the settlers of New England to do so? In the absence of the idea, we are not astonished at the non-existence of the fact.

One hundred and fifty years New England waits for the birth of the idea, and then the common schools of Hartford, Connecticut, open their doors to girls as well as to boys,—but not as yet to give to girls a fair chance and a free intellectual life, for smallness and pettiness still hang about the infant "idea," and girls are supposed to need manners more than mathematics, the needle more than the pen, the catechism more than the trained power of thought.

In 1636 Harvard College was established by the General Court, receiving a grant of four hundred pounds and the revenues of the ferry from Charlestown to Boston. Two years later John Harvard left it his library and half his property. The education which this institution offered was but poor and meagre, but, such as it was, it was only for men.

Two hundred and fifty years New England waits for the birth of the idea that women too have need of and are capable of the highest development of mind. Not that to Harvard these two hundred and fifty years of intellectual advantages brought the necessary enlightenment to lead to this broad principle,—but, fortunately for women, forces were elsewhere at work which fostered the growth of the idea.

All the phases of this growth we cannot note here, but we are involuntarily led to think of Emma Willard's efforts in behalf of advanced training for girls, first in founding a young ladies' school in Vermont, "which was to be," as she said, "a better school than those about her," and later, in founding on the banks of the Hudson the Troy Female Seminary,—of Catherine Beecher, at Hartford,—of Mary Lyon, the founder of Mount Holyoke Seminary, with her aspirations after a school that should be to young women what a college is to young men. Then comes to mind the ludicrous history of Boston's early attempt at founding a High School for girls. Let the eloquent wit of George William Curtis picture to you this pathetically ridiculous phase of the struggle: "The agitation for a Girl's High School had begun. With careful economy of the city resources the girls had been permitted to attend the public schools in summer, when there were not boys enough to fill them. But a pressure for a more generous education had arisen, and such was the persistent and unwomanly zeal for knowledge that, after a long debate of

three years, a High School was established. The onset of girls bent upon higher education was overwhelming. Like the astounded Mr. Barnacle in 'Little Dorrit,' the city fathers were confronted by a persistent crowd of scholars that wanted to know, you know."

Two hundred and eighty-six girl-candidates presented themselves for admission over against ninety boys!

"But," continues Mr. Curtis, "such immoderate zeal for knowledge was never known, not only of geography and history, of the multiplication table and vulgar fractions, but even of chemistry and natural philosophy. What was to be done? What if these daring girls should demand to study Latin and Greek? What if they should insist upon Euclid and Laplace? Zoölogy and moral philosophy and even astronomy itself might follow. The prospect was appalling. The awful question probably presented itself to the city fathers,—What if Boston women should come to know more than Boston men? Suppose there should arise a Board of Alderwomen, what would become of Boston? As the good old deacon used to say, 'Suppose, fellow-sinners, you should wake up to-morrow morning and find yourselves dead, what would you say then?' The situation became intolerable, and in eighteen months the Boston High School for girls was closed because there was so great a multitude of eager scholars."

The eloquent absurdity of this failure and the increasing demands of women worked hand in hand, and a quarter of a century later Boston had a High School for girls; another quarter of a century passes and a Latin school is established *to fit girls for college. To fit girls for college!* This clause speaks the last and best words that we have to say concerning the opportunities which have been won for woman's higher education.

It reminds us of the opening of Vassar in '65, of Smith and Wellesley in '75, of Bryn Mawr in '85, of Barnard in '89; it reminds us of the many colleges all over the land—Oberlin heading the list—which have extended their privileges to women.

In the West especially has the higher education of women been well supported both by the government of the separate States and by institutions that have been founded under the auspices of private individuals; though still in certain localities the old fight has to be fought over again, the changed ideals of the last decade of our century and the precedent of the majority of colleges put the final issue of the conflict almost beyond a doubt. The spirit of the time says, "Women need equal culture of mind and heart with men," and the fact answers nearly to the spirit in the Western States, where, out of two hundred and twelve institutions, one hundred and sixty-five are co-educational; some of these were founded originally for women, but have afterward extended their privileges on equal terms to men! A hint, it may be, of the day when the

whirligig of time shall bring about its revenges, and men shall knock at the doors of women's colleges to be admitted to the highest and best education that our land affords!

In the Southern States opportunities are opening and standards are becoming higher. The Woman's College of Baltimore, the co-educational universities—Tulane in New Orleans, Columbian in Washington, and the universities of Texas and Mississippi are the hopeful signs of progress in the South; the recent news that women are to be admitted to the Johns Hopkins medical school as soon as its doors shall be opened sends a thrill of rejoicing throughout the length and breadth of our land. May the day not be far distant when its academic department shall act upon the same just principle!

Thus far we have spoken of woman's progress in education in America; in Germany a book appears whose very existence is a proof of progress, —Helene Lange's "Higher Education of Women in Europe." Herein the history of the higher education of women in each of the countries of Europe is passed in review. It begins with the movement in England. From the opening of the Cambridge University courses to women thirty years ago to their admission to the London University examinations and the Cambridge tripos examinations in the beginning of the last decade, and finally to the founding of the Royal Holloway College, which was opened in the presence of the Queen of England five years ago, the cause has advanced with strong and steady steps.

Since 1866 France has made provision for the higher education of women; one of our own countrywomen, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, was the first woman admitted to the medical school in Paris.

Switzerland early opened the doors of her universities to women, making neither reserves nor concessions on the ground of sex: Zürich University has the honor of being the first in this respect; then follow Geneva, Bern, Neufchâtel, and finally report tells us that conservative Basel has granted to one woman the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Sweden follows in 1870. In 1875 Denmark grants to women the privilege of acquiring all the degrees, except that of Doctor of Divinity, that her only university gives.

Italy has from very early times permitted women to attend the universities, both as students and as professors. We need but call to mind the Italian poet, musician, astronomer, mathematician, and linguist, Elena Lucrezia Coronaro, who received the doctor's degree at the University of Padua, and the beautiful and learned Novela d'Andrea, who sometimes lectured in her father's stead at the University of Bologna. The University of Bologna was both ancient and celebrated. It was founded in the early part of the fifth century, and in the thirteenth century its fame had become so great that its students numbered about ten thousand.

In the bloom of this brilliant period, women were enrolled in the number of students and professors. Bettisia Gozzidina, a doctor of law, lectured there during the last ten years of her life; Catalina and Novella Calderini lectured on law a hundred years later. During the following centuries women became renowned in various departments, including mathematics and anatomical research. Thus the distant past and the "dark" Middle Ages point their finger of reproach at the cold and sluggish conservatism not of phlegmatic Germany alone, but of the free, enlightened, progressive America of the nineteenth century!

In 1875 St. Petersburg arranged university courses for women.

The University of Amsterdam enrolled the first woman student in 1880.

In 1882 Norway passed a law which authorized the admission of women to the degrees of arts and of philosophy, and Miss Thoresen, the first candidate, was not only allowed to enter, but was greeted by the students with an address of welcome and congratulation.

Spain and Portugal have no law excluding women from university privileges, while Vienna and Leipsic tolerate them through the courtesy or good nature of individual professors, though they give them no recognition or privilege of matriculation.

Do we look about us for signs of further advance? They are at hand. Report tells us that the new National University in Washington contemplates the admission of women on the same conditions and with the same privileges as men. The University of Glasgow follows in the same path. The Royal University of Ireland confers the degree of Bachelor of Arts upon eleven women, and that of Doctor of Laws upon several others. The Universities of Montreal and Australia extend a welcome to women students. A petition for admittance to the University of Greece has been signed by Greek women, and Rome bestirs herself in behalf of her girls.

Such to-day are the facts which are the foundation of our hope of future opportunity. What to-day are our ideals that are to be the basis of future attainment?

One of the greatest needs of the future in America is a higher standard of scholarship, a standard of scholarship which shall lead to the seeking of knowledge for its own sake, for the sake of that vision of truth which alone can guide aright. We need as a people not more ambition, but ambition more wisely directed; not a greater amount of work, but a better quality of it; not culture pursued as an end, but as a means. As humanity is made up not of men but of mankind, so human achievement is not that of the individual, but of mankind collectively.

No one man, however gifted, can do or be all. The needs of the past are not the needs of the present or future; while Ichabod Crane, with his marvellous adaptability to any and every situation in which his calling

placed him was needful in his day,—and it may be that even now other Sleepy Hollows still need their Ichabods,—it is nevertheless true that the new time demands new standards, and the so-called "all-around" man, if he still persist in existing, may continue to be the pedagogue, the parson, the jack-at-all-trades, but he will not be looked upon as a type of the scholarly man. The journey "all-around" even the *surface* of the knowledge of the nineteenth century imposes a task which not even a Hercules might compass. The true scholar will content himself with knowing roundly and well some one department of knowledge; he will find a never-failing delight in working out from this as a centre into the many and varied channels that lead therefrom. He will find his mental power intensified in the process of diving into the depths; such an experience will be his as never comes to one who merely sips from the surface. To him who has sounded the depths it may also be given to know the heights; he may penetrate further than any other into the realms of the unknown and bring back to the world new wisdom from his newly-explored kingdom. Such scholars our country needs to-day,—not mere learners of the already known, but workers on the outskirts of knowledge, leaders on the frontiers, in the van of science, who shall by their investigations add to the sum of human knowledge. Among the leaders in the world of scientific research let the woman of the future take her place. This duty her new and larger opportunities impose upon her.

A movement is at the present moment suggested which the future may develop, whereby many an old wall of prejudice may be battered down. It is the movement that is now being most eloquently and effectively presented in this country by Mr. Richard G. Moulton, of Cambridge, England,—that of the university extension.

According to the plan which he sets forth the university may send lecturers or teachers into any city, town, or village in the land that may desire it; there all who will may enjoy the benefit of courses of instruction under the direction and inspiration of university professors. This kind of university work will help to break down the old idea that a university is a collection of buildings, that imposing bricks and mortar constitute a college; it will teach the invaluable lesson that wherever the professor finds a student, *there* is a university! and that with his excellence or incapacity the university rises or falls. It will do more than this; it will teach the people, it will bring the delight and inspiration of knowledge to the old and young, to the rich and poor, to the gifted and to the dull of comprehension in that place where the duties of each hold him fast, and the whole community will be raised in tone, the college and the community will be kept in warm sympathy with one another, and the result will be that a larger portion of the youth will aspire to the higher training and development of mind that uninterrupted study at the uni-

versity centres affords. Let this phase of the educational problem, then, have a share in our ideals of the future!

Another movement, having its beginning in the year that has just closed, should be furthered in the future as one of the noblest and best undertakings that are the immediate outcome of the college training of women: it is the College Settlement; bands of educated women make themselves homes in the worst portions of our large cities, and live there as the helpful friends of the neighborhood, teaching both directly and indirectly better ways of living, better aims in life, healthier means of enjoyment; and already the success of the plan warrants anticipation for the future.

Thus the coming years will find woman at work at the top, at the bottom, and all the way between. She will have her share in supporting that system of education which Professor Huxley declares to be the only one worthy of the name, "that which shall create a great educational ladder, with one end in the gutter and the other in the university."

We could not close this sketch of our ideal future without expressing one more hope: that the wisdom of the coming day may adjust things with such a perfect balance that the scale in which woman's achievement is placed may fall or rise according to the measure of its worth, not according to prejudice or favor based on the ground of sex. The past has demanded for woman justice—not oppression; the demand of the present and future is justice still—not favor.

THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO THE MEDICAL SCHOOL OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

ELIZABETH T. KING. The question has naturally been asked, Why should the women of the United States contribute their money and their influence to open a medical school in Baltimore? The reasons for such action can rest logically only upon advantages to be offered there which are not attainable elsewhere, and which make the opening of this school to women a "turning-point in the fate of women physicians."

A glance at their present opportunities of medical study in the United States will show that there are a few good women's medical colleges where conscientious work is done, and which have successively developed from small beginnings to positions which command the respect and support of the community.

They are hampered, however, by a dependence upon fees for support, and by moderate dispensary and hospital advantages, which necessarily limit their sphere of usefulness to undergraduate training. Medical education for women in this country ends here, for practically all co-educational schools (except that of the University of Michigan) must be included under these conditions. Women students have, therefore, a

constant struggle against the depressing effect of a want of opportunities for graduate study which, in spite of individual examples, constantly tends to lower them into an inferior class of practitioners, and deters many superior women from entering a profession where they must start at a disadvantage. In their mature studies they lack the necessary contact with men whose methods of thought and action they will be required to meet in professional life, they have no opportunities for bacteriological and pathological investigations, or for extensive clinical and dispensary practice under the best hospital advantages, they need the stimulus of working under the foremost scientists in original research, and of encouragement to become medical writers; and the result is that they have to go abroad if they wish to fit themselves thoroughly for their profession.

Accordingly, when the project of opening the medical school of the Johns Hopkins University was being considered, a few women in Baltimore felt that here was an opportunity to obtain these advantages for women in a graduate school which would be founded upon and combine the advantages of two great institutions,—the University and the Hospital. The University has an endowment of three million five hundred thousand dollars, and, from its opening, has steadily developed its graduate department, until there are this year two hundred and thirty graduate students, more than the sum total of such students in all the other colleges and universities in the United States. An atmosphere for advanced work has thus been created which is largely promoted by the special attention given to the physical, biological, chemical, and pathological departments. Since 1882, a preliminary medical course has been opened which is intended to lead up to the medical school, and which, in addition to the matriculation examinations of the University, includes chemistry, biology, physiology, methods of scientific research, German, and French.

Coexistent with the University is the Johns Hopkins Hospital with a separate endowment of three million three hundred thousand dollars. It is situated upon fourteen acres of ground, in the highest part of the city, thoroughly sub-drained. It includes seventeen buildings, planned on the system of separate wards connected by corridors, and built at great cost with special reference to teaching. Its heating, ventilation, and means of observation of disease, its operating-rooms and dispensary, its training-school for nurses and diet kitchen, its laundry, its pathological and hygienic laboratories, have all been established and equipped under the most approved methods and with the best apparatus.

It has one hundred and seventy patients daily in its wards, and twelve hundred weekly in its dispensary, which is one of the most thoroughly organized in this country for scientific work and the relief of the poor, and it has an elaborate series of publications tended to stimulate original work and influence the profession.

In order not to hamper the work of the University in other directions, an additional endowment of five hundred thousand dollars was needed in order to open the medical school on a scale commensurate with its foundations. It therefore seemed right that, if women asked for its advantages, they should bear their share in raising the endowment.

The presidents of the boards of the University and Hospital were personally consulted, and under their kind encouragement it was decided to ask the women of America to contribute at least one hundred thousand dollars to the endowment, on the ground that, by doing so, they would hasten the opening of advanced medical study to women by many years.

On May 15, 1890, a meeting was held in Baltimore, another almost simultaneously in Boston, and others throughout New England; committees were organized in Philadelphia and New York, and in six weeks nearly sixty thousand dollars were raised.

In the autumn, before further steps were taken, in order to satisfy the natural uncertainty felt by people at a distance as to the ultimate admission of women, the chairman of the Baltimore committee sent a proposition to the president of the board of trustees of the university offering the money on condition of the admission of women to the medical school on the same terms as men. This action was made possible through the generosity of a member of the committee, who contributed the sum necessary to make up the amount.

The board unanimously passed resolutions accepting the gift upon the conditions offered, and steps were at once taken to arouse a wider interest.

The wife of the President of the United States consented to be chairman of the Washington committee, and committees were also formed in Annapolis, Milwaukee, Madison, and Chicago. Interest is also beginning to be aroused in St. Louis and San Francisco, and already substantial additions are being made to the fund.

We have been reproached for making the admission of women to this school a question of money, in contrast to the schools of Paris and Switzerland, where university privileges have been freely granted to women. Their example and experience are a substantial support to the cause by showing that, in each case, women were welcomed simply upon their merits and needs as human beings, and only after some time passed was it thought necessary to consider the question of their presence upon the sole ground of expediency, a question which was uniformly decided in their favor.

The conditions which control education differ so materially in this country from those abroad, that it is not possible to compare them in every respect. Paternal governments can so manage and organize education that it can be developed on abstract principles; they are able to bear any increased expenditure in carrying out new ideas, and the result is that the

universities are practically independent of public opinion. In this country it is necessary to convince the public and gain its pecuniary support before reforms can be carried out. The results, no doubt, in the future will have a unity and completeness possible only in a free country, but before the process of enlightening the public is finished there is an unnecessary duplication of educational centres, a confusion of college with school, and university with college, which are due to a lack of understanding of their real relations. Foreigners contrast voluntary and local effort most disadvantageously with state and central organization until, as Sir Henry Acland says, "A time comes when the waste of power and the uncertainty of result are almost intolerable."

The women's committees of the Johns Hopkins Medical Fund present, I think, one of the first national attempts to neutralize such a state of affairs, and, by a voluntary subordination of local interests, to promote a recognized standard of higher medical education. By its success it is hoped that a sufficient number of medical schools will feel encouraged to make themselves centres of undergraduate training, and that they will work up to the graduate standard set by the Johns Hopkins University. That this feeling is gaining ground is shown by the fact that women physicians who control medical education have warmly supported us, and that the names of many subscribers to the new building of the Woman's Medical College in New York are also on the lists of our committees. Under these conditions, with a public already believing in the usefulness of women physicians and learning to support and understand a complete educational system, the present state of affairs will no longer exist which Dr. Jacobi alludes to when she says "that in Europe the women too often have the education but not the patients, and in America they have the patients but not the education."

Knowing that we are dependent upon a popular demand, and that privileges are not granted in America until they are asked for, it has been necessary to do much propaganda work in order first to create the demand. To do this we have issued a large amount of campaign literature; we have had the cordial support of the press; the disinterested co-operation of many leading physicians; we have been helped by men as well as by women. It is true that we have sometimes met with indifference where we might have expected interest; and that the pressing needs of each locality have sometimes made it difficult to arouse the attention of many busy workers; nevertheless, to those who have sympathized with the struggles of women physicians in the past, it is marvellous to watch the growth of public opinion and its hearty co-operation with this movement. The most conservative and the most progressive women have united in a body to encourage and promote the position of women physicians, who thus receive a final endorsement from the hands of the most influential of

their sex. We cannot overestimate the effect of this action, and the emphatic declaration that now comes from women that there is a need for the highest medical skill in women physicians, and a work for them to do which can be done by no one else. They are needed as medical teachers in schools and colleges where they only can train young girls to a wise use and economy of health; they are wanted in insane asylums where their power of influencing and sympathizing with their sex is sometimes a strong element in recovery; only a woman skilled to heal physically and morally can reach the hearts of those whose wayward lives have brought them to the doors of reformatories; women physicians as missionaries have the strongest power of influencing the thousands of oppressed women who, without them, are deprived of health and a knowledge of Christianity; and in all classes of society evidence constantly accumulates of the great amount of suffering and disease which never comes to the notice of a physician at all, or comes too late for cure, owing to the want of women physicians whom those of their own sex can consult.

Although, as I have said, this movement labors under the disadvantage of conflicting with local interests, yet to such an audience as this, composed of women who represent so many phases of enlightened thought and action, the great principles involved in it must appeal with special significance. To some it means obtaining university privileges and their favorable reaction upon all fields of mental activity for women; some are working for the sake of the advanced medical opportunities offered; some see in it triumph of co-education; others feel deeply that the standard of medical education for men needs raising as well as that for women, and are anxious to afford better opportunities for the development of medical science, irrespective of sex,—to all these I would say that this movement is not yet ended. We are not content to rest in knowing that university medical advantages for women have been secured, that a great hospital has cordially welcomed women physicians from its opening, that a square of ground has been bought for the school, and that more than one-fifth of the endowment has been raised. The opening of the school will surely come, but it can be hastened if women will continue to interest themselves in it. It is too much, perhaps, to hope that they will accomplish the glorious consummation of raising the whole endowment, but may it not be possible for them to set in motion a train of influences which may induce some public-spirited lover of his kind to give his name and his money to the speedy opening of a school whose standard will raise the condition of medical education for both men and women, and where the new developments in medical science which are tending to a hitherto undreamt-of relief for suffering humanity will be studied under the best conditions?

THE PRESIDENT. I have the pleasure to announce that we will listen to a brief address on "Married Women in the Public Schools," by Mary A. Ripley. My friend Miss Ripley was for twenty-five years a leading high-school teacher in Massachusetts, but now is from Kearney, Nebraska. She is to speak to you in her own bright way from the calm, judicial view of one who adorns the honorable and ancient fraternity of spinsters.

EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

MARY A. RIPLEY. I have in my possession a few notes which I regard as indices, showing,—

1st. That in some localities there is definite legislation against the employment of married women as teachers in the public schools.

2d. That in other localities they may serve temporarily as substitutes, but not permanently as regular teachers.

3d. That in some places women teachers marrying are expected to resign their positions in the schools at the end of the term in which they marry.

4th. That in at least one of our largest cities there is prospective legislation in the same direction.

5th. That there is wide-spread general sentiment against the acceptance of this class of service.

Now, Madam President, does not all this savor of class legislation? Is it not true that favoritism is injustice? Is not class legislation a betrayal of the true principles of government? Why, as a class, should married women be artificially restricted as to freedom in the labor field more than married men? There may be good reason why some married women ought or ought not to engage in certain labor or kinds of labor; just as there may be good reason why married men should or should not attempt certain lines of business. But all these cases should be considered individually; there should be the utmost personal liberty; there should be no class legislation. Why, Madam President, look at the absurdity of *engaging* a CLASS of women as teachers in the schools! taking them in mass and setting them to teach our children! Is it not equally absurd to reject a class? to bar out teachers well qualified to do excellent work, solely because they belong to the honored class, married women? No, no; this business is, or should be, individual business.

The officer who employs the teachers,—for convenience we will name him superintendent,—the superintendent has just *one* comprehensive question which he is not only at liberty to ask, but it is his duty to ask it; not only to ask it, but to press for complete and satisfactory answer. This imperative question is, "Is this person equal to the demands of this position?" By all proper means the superintendent is bound to satisfy himself regarding this matter. And if the final answer be *no*, then, married

or unmarried, he should not employ the applicant. If the reply be an unequivocal affirmative, he has no right to go back of this essential question of fitness,—the *only* one in which, as superintendent, he may rightfully concern himself,—he has, I say, no right to go back of this essential question of fitness, with futile attempt to enter into the personal life of the applicant and make decisions for her; he cannot assume her responsibility. The responsibility of this married woman's decision rests upon herself; his responsibility as superintendent rests upon himself. Officially, it is nothing to him whether the woman be or be not a mother; whether she is or is not making her home what it ought to be,—all this obligation rests upon her. We do not refuse to employ women in other very laborious pursuits because of our anxiety for their children; the fact of the children is simply a strong argument why we should give them work, since they can, through this labor, make their little ones more comfortable and happy. And it might be suggested that if any woman is fit to be entrusted with the care of children for twenty-four hours in a day, then she is competent to decide whether it is better that she should leave them for five or six hours a day.

Every human soul needs congenial work for fullest development. I take it that the mere changing of material forms, the mere doing of a certain amount of work, is not the final cause why one works. Neither is the wages. X has ploughed five acres; so much work is accomplished. X receives five dollars for the ploughing; there is your wages. Is this the chief outcome of the labor? Is this why God has instituted labor? I trow not. But by means of this work X has become more accurate, more faithful, more effective, altogether a higher style of man. So each of us needs work, work taxing our noblest powers, in order to insure our noblest progress. And to refuse one liberty to work in a chosen field, because one is rich, or married, or is suffering under both inflictions, is downright tyranny. I may not lack food or clothing; I am in direst need of that living bread which multiplies itself; of that water which shall spring up into everlasting life. And my supply must come through work; by this I build my character; I must work out my own salvation.

Married women, by virtue of their wider, perhaps I should say their *different* experience, ought to bring something desirable into the schools which unmarried women cannot supply. The mother's knowledge of her own children ought to make her wiser to deal with the children of other mothers,—her pupils. She ought to comprehend, in a general way, the nature of a child more truly than can another; for she has had supreme opportunity to study it,—the opportunity of motherhood.

In some communities this idea seems to have weight,—that if the husband be able to maintain the wife she should not be employed in the schools. *This* is no business of the superintendent, except as he may

have deep interest in all those collateral circumstances which contribute to the making of a teacher. The comfortable refined home, free from harrowing anxiety as to daily bread, should but add an element of desirability to the teacher's outfit. All those conditions of life which give privilege of society, privilege of travel,—all these advantages of culture add to the value of the instructor.

One criticism justly made upon teachers in general, both men and women, is that they enter teaching merely to tide them over what might be termed a transition period and do not regard it as a permanent business. The young women wish to teach until they marry; the young men until they gain a profession offering higher or more brilliant rewards.

And this is thought to be detrimental to the schools. But here are teachers who wish to continue the work from love or for other usual and legitimate reasons; and lo! they are rejected,—rejected for the very reasons that make a man more valuable in almost any position.

I know that in some localities the poverty of the applicant is put forward as a reason why she should be thrust into school to fix her disagreeable mark upon our children. But poverty is not qualification; it is uncoveted misfortune; neither is poor health. These schools are not asylums provided by a pitying public for the reception of men and women incapable of struggle with exacting requirements. Neither is the number of votes the applicant can control legitimate subject of inquiry or factor of influence. The superintendent is, or should be, on the alert for teachers,—married or unmarried; influential or uninfluential, politically.

Married women having tested the value of general school courses of study in their own housekeeping, in the training of their own children, might bring valuable suggestion as to their utility in preparing young men and women for the only duties which are reasonably sure to confront them,—those which they must meet as the heads of families. They might have some original ideas as to the comparative value of sanitation and navigation; of how to prepare ambrosia and nectar for the gods and goddesses at their Olympian banquets; and how to prepare roast turkey and pumpkin pie for a plain American citizen at a genuine American Thanksgiving dinner. They might, through their own nursery failures, be competent to decide which were more profitable for American boys and girls to learn, how ancient royalty trained its prospective heirs, or to take a thorough kindergarten course, so as to be able instructively to amuse their own children; whether it were better to study up the brooches and bracelets, the tiaras and trinkets of the buried Trojans, or how to make a few plain, simple, and needful things for their own households. Yes, the presence in a school department of a fairly large element of married women,—of mothers, of wives who preside in elegant homes, whose environment stimulates to thought and gives leisure for culture, would be

very helpful in this most important work of education. These women would form a series of object-lessons for that large number of crude young girls who crowd into all the large school departments, from families that have scarcely been able to keep the wolf from the door. And every superintendent ought to be pleased and proud to multiply the number of his model teachers.

But, while opposing that folly which would arbitrarily define and circumscribe the married woman's freedom to choose those things in life which will best nourish and upbuild character, I would most earnestly deprecate any action or influence, by or through this Council or any organization of women, tending to lower the standard of the home—of family life; tending in the slightest degree to loosen those ties which naturally bind women to the usual home duties.

I would withstand the idea that the wise care of one's house and household, the training of one's children, all that domesticity implies, are not sufficiently onerous, and honorable, and important, to yield abundant exercise for all powers of body, mind, and spirit. There is no drudgery in it,—no drudgery to the worthy soul. It is ample field for highest and broadest culture. I would interpose this rapidly growing influence of woman between the children and all those evil conditions which lie in wait for their unsteady feet and undisciplined natures. For the common and almost unrecognized betrayal of childhood in this nineteenth century is something fearful to contemplate. Does not Modern Civilization rival the ancient god Moloch as a devourer of children?

Think of the unwelcome children! Instead of the glad, victorious song, "Unto us a child is born!" there is a sort of grim, resigned acceptance of the inevitable. The cry of the children comes to us from the neglected cradle; from the uncomfortable, unregulated home, where instinctive animal love never rises into the rational human love; where fitful, passionate indulgence and severity never become persistent temperate restraint; their hopeless and helpless cry comes to us from the swarming city tenement where they perish miserably,—starving for food, suffocating in foul air, poisoned with filth, murdered by rum; it comes from the asylums where orphaned children eat the bread of charity, and, instead of mother-love, starve on the official interest of hirelings; where the foundling baby tarries a few days, or weeks, or months, while on his brief journey to the grave; from the hospital where sick children pine more for sweet gentleness than for life; from the mills where the iron wheels rush on and on forever, grinding life down from its mark; from the schools with their false notions of education; from all the places where little ones play, and work, and suffer, and die, the cry of betrayed childhood comes down to us.

And yet this little child set in the midst of the people is the centre of

human interest; upon this little child depends the succession of the generations of man; upon this little child hangs the hope of the race. Degrade the child, and you degrade the race. Blot out the child, and you blot out the race. Banish the child, and why should we make peace or war? Why pursue knowledge? Why plough the sea, and explore new continents, and heap up gold? A few short years and the world will be empty of life. We go to our graves, and there are none to stand in our places. Let us cease our struggle, for to-morrow we die; the race dies. There is no little *child.*

But how lightly we hold this child! Even if guarded in pleasant homes through early years, these children are, in youth, sent forth into an environment of seductive and deadly temptation. Masked and unmasked, the allurements of vice are on the right, and on the left, and in front of them. These bristling batteries of the enemy are legalized by the votes of their fathers and their fathers' friends; by the votes of their pastors; by their Sunday-School teachers; they are allowed, and excused, and defended by a vitiated public sentiment to which both father and mother contribute. It is a desperate encounter,—some one has blundered, —many go down under this converging fire. They go down because they have not been warned and fortified by parent and teacher, because the law-makers and the electors have prepared traps for them; they perish from lack of knowledge. The remnant that ride back out of the jaws of death, back from the mouth of hell, bear wounds and bruises which reveal the fierce sharpness of the conflict.

And the mother in the home, the thoughtful, intelligent, fearless mother, must save her beloved, *if they are saved.* By her brave life lived before them, by her words of wisdom uttered with discretion, by her service of the Highest and Purest, she must be a wall of flaming fire between her child and the lurking destruction. She must overthrow the overthrower; she must consume the consumer. The making of a home which is dwelling-place, and shelter, and defence; which is temple and fortress; a place to be glad in; a place to be safe in; a place to grow strong in; a refuge from heat, and cold, and *all* ills,—the making of such a home is somewhat more than cooking and cleaning; the care of children is more than the pleasing of the palate or the embroidery of pretty garments. Is not the work high enough, and strenuous enough, to fill out and enrich any human life?

Would that every young woman might come to know that, while marriage is a business, it is infinitely more than a business. It is a sacred office, which office includes a business. It is a divine ministration which uplifts humanity, or it is something infinitely degrading.

I would have all these clubs of women all over the country so educate women that they shall feel that the headship of a family is a mighty work,

taxing all their noblest powers; that its loveliest duty is something which may be made very fruitful of good to humanity. I would have married women gather from these women's organizations such learning as shall make them most averse to leaving their own home-work; such learning as shall make them see that true culture waits on the faithful doing of any and every duty; but I would have them entirely free to make their own decisions; I would not have laws, or by-laws, or school-officers rule in the matter; but a high sense of duty; a quickened estimate of the privilege of motherhood; of the power of a mother to save her own children.

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure, my friends, that you have all appreciated the remarks of Miss Ripley, and that you have seen in her the illustration of a most excellent lawyer and judge being spoiled to make a first-class high-school teacher.

We will now hear something about "School Savings-Banks," by S. L. Oberholtzer.

SCHOOL SAVINGS-BANKS.

S. L. OBERHOLTZER. The subject of School Savings-Banks is one of national interest, because as we develop in thrift and individuality the wealth and strength of the nation increase. No man can live for himself alone, though we confess half the world is experimenting in that line. The roughness, flaws, or polish of each individual leave impress on the lives with which they come in contact.

Inclination and genius are inherited, but character and fortune are made. Too little thoughtful care has been given to American children, considering the expectation we accord them. If we would have pure, well-rounded, thrifty, and economic people, thought and affection must stand hand in hand by the cradle, and into the awakening intellects the best seed, according to the harvests we would reap, must be sown.

That ours is not a harvest, but a seeding-time, we have been slow to realize. The world has its epochs. Radical changes are not the work of a day, but the perfection of the efforts of a generation. The confusion of impatience with labor, the ambition to hasten an end which can be worked out only in the ripeness of time from the convergence of millions of beginnings, has been from the date of creation the reformers' besetting sin. If we could but remember that while figuring as individuals we are still things, a part of God's eternal plan, and be simply willing to move continually forward, trusting the results—which we know must somehow, someway, be according to their deserts—wholly to him, the creative power of our advance would be greater and worthier.

Coming down to the practicability of daily life, we want our children to have more content and less contention than we have had; we want them to have more leisure for higher mental and moral achievements; to

be lifted above the mere level of the bread-and-butter question, and to be familiar with the relation of money to wealth.

Simple, natural, and easy instruction tending to this end we find in the School Savings-Banks. They are in wide use in Europe, and are clearly proven to be one of the best educational factors of the age. They train the population to habits of thrift, individuality, and self-dependence before the unconcern and wastefulness which often attend the probationary years of youth develop into an emptiness which is unsatisfying and unprofitable. They are preventive to the small practices which lead to vice. They reduce visibly crime, pauperism, and intemperance.

France has twenty-three thousand three hundred and seventy-five School Savings-Banks, under patronage of the government. Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, England, Hungary, and the Netherlands have them in common use. A close estimate of the money to the credit of the pupils in Europe to-day is seven million five hundred thousand dollars. The institution of the economic system in the various countries was effected at different dates since 1834 by educators of whom it is not my present purpose to treat. Miss Agnes Lambert has done much for the work in England. Madame Carnot, wife of President Carnot, of France, exemplified her forethought and wisdom on the Christmas of 1889, by giving to four hundred of the poorest school-children of Paris ten francs and a bank-book. Philanthropists at intervals since 1876 have mentioned the subject in the United States. Mr. T. S. Merrill introduced it into the public schools of Beloit, Wisconsin, in 1877, on a simple plan which yielded excellent results.

In the winter of 1879 and '80, Captain R. H. Pratte, of the Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, established a savings system for the Indians, the result of his judgment, he explains, that in teaching the Indians the use of money it was necessary to have the money, and to teach them to save it and be economical. It was of prime importance to do so practically and not theoretically. Therefore he instituted a system of paying students a very small sum for their work, providing each one with a bank-book, and encouraged them to make deposits. Captain Pratte's method was far-seeing. His Indian pupils have now six thousand dollars to their credit; and those who have left, with training finished, have taken as much more in cash, trunks, and equipments to their Western homes. This knowledge of economics cannot but be of intrinsic value to the remnant of the race who owned the country before money was the one great factor of exchange.

We have no further record of School Savings-Banks until 1885, when Mr. J. H. Thiry, an Americanized Frenchman, introduced them into the schools of Long Island City, New York. As School Commissioner, Mr. Thiry has coached the system along so beautifully that it is a steady, leading light on the way to thrift. Conversant with school-savings

methods in Europe, he formulated from their best features a simple and comprehensive code for the United States.

The School Savings-Banks card is copyrighted, but a grant to use it is freely given to promoters of the cause, with a proviso that statistics of the work be regularly reported. This arrangement insures harmony of action and exact record. By tabulated list of September, 1890, we have Savings-Banks in 158 schools, 20,975 pupil depositors, with $69,957.76 to their credit. An average of one-third of the scholars are depositors. Since the compilation of this table, 62 schools have taken up the system, making the number now using it 220.

Perhaps no movement as reformatory in its trend has met more universal favor. Its advance here has been principally during the last year through the influence of a few educators and economists who noted the perfection of the system and desired to spread its benefits.

The Report of the National Bureau of Education for 1890 contains a comprehensive article on the subject by Mr. Thiry, and he has had printed, and given out generously, his excellent "Rules and Regulations." In answer to frequent demands from several States and Territories, I have recently prepared for general distribution slips entitled "School Savings-Banks" and "How to Institute School Savings-Banks."

The administration of the system occupies about fifteen minutes and interferes with no regular school duty. At roll-call on Monday morning the children report their savings, taking the amount with their Savings-Bank card to the teacher, who with a figure credits the amount opposite given date on the card and in her roll-book. The card, which is folded, has a space opposite the date of each Monday in the school year. It is always kept by the pupil as memorandum and receipt. On the face of the card is the name of the pupil, the school, and the teacher. On the back are the regulations. The money is deposited in a Savings-Bank as a General School Fund, until the individual amounts entitle the little depositors to bank-books. The bank-books are given to the children, to take to their homes monthly. Family interest is thus aroused, and in several instances parents have curtailed needless expenses and opened Savings-Banks accounts for themselves, thus learning lessons of thrift from their children.

The youthful depositors are naturally thoughtful in the growth of their individual estates. Frugality and industry are inculcated; liberality rendered possible; the boys and the girls, when they leave school, have the nucleus of fortune in acquired thrift and a snug sum of one or two hundred dollars in bank.

There is a flavor of equality in this economic education; the boy and the girl start out into a broader life with equal capital and equal knowledge of its accumulative power, with the individuality and personal self-de-

pendence such training necessarily engenders. Definite knowledge of money's worth insures wiser living. The bars of property and sex grow less distinct. The nation broadens correspondingly.

"Ebrybody monstrus glad tu hab a penny ob der own," said an old negro lately to me in Georgia, when he explained that he wanted for nothing during slavery time. "I nebar ask massa fur nothen but what he gib, but, missie, ebrybody monstrus glad tu hab a penny ob der own." That is just the way with men, women, and children all over the land to-day, "dey be monstrus glad tu hab a penny ob der own."

The innate desire for independence indigenous to American soil is as broad as the country; North, South, East, and West, from the palatial home to the negro cabin, comes the cry for individual development and individual possession.

The fostering of personal responsibility as an ennobling force is of great social and national value.

The general establishment of School Savings-Banks in the United States will promote many helpful humanitarian interests and conflict with none. It will bring about an equalization of means and power, enabling our children to cope more successfully with the future and remedy some of the evils which oppress our heterogeneous people.

THE PRESIDENT. Miss Mary F. Eastman will speak to you briefly, closing the educational phase of our programme.

MISS MARY F. EASTMAN. I was very sure that Miss Ripley would take a topic of some general interest; I did not want her to take one so manifestly of little importance as the one she chose. It did seem very strange, when we all know that women are inert, like other beings, and do not want to do anything, and when married they never need to, I guess,—I mean anything for *support*, because then, as we all know from observation, they generally find their clothing and a "steady job;" and, if we read the Census Report, we shall also find that they are supported.

You see how manifestly unnecessary it is, from her treatment of the topic, that women should apply for outside work after marriage. It only proves how she can make a worthless subject of great interest.

I do know that in the last census but one an indefinite number of women were discovered to be lost; but a great deal of investigation resulted in finding that they were lost *in marriage*. In reckoning employments, there were not as many women *employed* as there were *women*. As one would expect, the women who were without employment were married house-keepers, and therefore they did nothing.

I recall so many incidents illustrative of women's opportunities for education. In reading the history of woman in Massachusetts a little while since, I found that in those schools, of which a previous speaker has told you, a little chance was given to girls a century or more after

boys had been provided with Harvard College, largely at the public expense. I did find that they gave children training in the catechism, not only by learning it from the lips of the teacher in Dame schools, but possibly by teaching them enough reading to decipher it from the horn-book themselves. I did learn that under stress of need of service they employed two women. The women were not called by their own individual names; that was not worth while. They were "John Wright's wife" and "Allen Converse's wife." It took two of these sheltered and supported women to find time enough to teach the Dame schools, and they were credited for one year's service as follows: "No pounds, twelve shillings, and no pence," which they divided between them! (Laughter.) You laugh at it now; and yet I did not laugh even to-day when a lady holding a clerkship in one of the departments told me that she received nine hundred dollars a year, while a man sitting beside her doing corresponding work, no better done than her own, received sixteen hundred dollars; and this is *to-day*, my friends, and not a century ago.

In the early days in New England the struggle to get anything taught to girls was absolutely pitiful. In the town of Newburyport the parents of girls struggled to get little bits of chances for their girls to share the education offered at the public cost for boys, but the girls had to be educated by their fathers. If the father was worth three hundred pounds, he had no right to public moneys; that was only for boys.

As in all these reforms, at first, a few began to ask that some provision might be made to teach girls. It was passed over again and again in town-meeting as a thing not worth mentioning at all. But by and by they reluctantly granted that for six months in the year the girls might go to school from six to eight o'clock in the morning, while the boys were getting ready for a fair day's work, and also on Thursday afternoons. What there was about Thursday afternoons I do not know; I suppose the boys went haying or skating. Then a movement was made to give girls a part of the year, but that did not work, and so it was voted that the girls should no more be permitted to go at all.

In one of the western towns of Massachusetts a gentleman told me that he recollected an old gentleman who had lived in the town when only boys were admitted to free public schools. At that time there had come to be a few schools here and there to which the wealthy parents sent their girls from home for a little education. And this one parent, who had paid very large taxes in the town, had no boys. He said he saw no reason why girls should not be permitted to take the vacant seats in those schools, and he mentioned the matter at the town-meeting in Hatfield, when one of the old residents rose and said, "Hatfield schools for she's, never!" That was the very town from which came Miss Smith who founded a college for girls.

But we have made a big leap from that day to this, although Harvard has shown the same exclusive spirit as to its vacant seats. Still, it is now the proud delight of this Council that upon one of its women has descended the privilege of being the first woman who can in any sense be said to be admitted to Harvard University. You all in Washington know her, Miss Alice Fletcher, who has made for herself so honorable a record in her work for the Indians, and who reflects such honor upon our Council.

THE PRESIDENT. And now we will hear from Mrs. Lease something further in regard to the "Women in the Farmers' Alliance."

WOMEN IN THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

MRS. MARY E. LEASE.

"Swing outward, O gates of the morning,
Swing inward, ye doors of the past;
A giant is rousing from slumber,
The people are waking at last."

Madam President, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens,—If God were to give me my choice to live in any age of the world which has flown, or in any age of the world yet to come, I would say, "O God, let me live here and now, in this day and age of the world's history." We are living in a grand and wonderful time; we are living in a day when old ideas, old traditions, and old customs have broken loose from their moorings, and are hopelessly adrift on the great shoreless, boundless sea of human thought; we are living in a time when the gray old world begins to dimly comprehend that there is no difference between the brain of an intelligent woman and the brain of an intelligent man; that there is no difference between the soul-power and the brain-power that nerved the arm of Charlotte Corday to deeds of heroism, and that which swayed old John Brown behind his barricade at Ossawatomie; we are living in a day and age when the women of industrial societies and the Alliance women have become a mighty factor in the politics of this nation; when the mighty dynamite of thought is stirring the hearts of men of this world from centre to circumference, and this thought is crystallizing into action.

Organization is becoming the key-note among the farmers of this nation. The farmers, slow to think and slow to act, are to-day thinking for themselves; they have been compelled to think. They have been awakened by the load of oppressive taxation, unjust tariffs, and they find themselves standing to-day on the very brink of their own despair. In all the years which have flown, the farmers, in their unswerving loyalty and patriotism to party, have been too mentally lazy to do their own thinking. They have been allowing the unprincipled demagogues of both the old political parties to do their thinking for them, and they have voted

poverty and degradation not only upon themselves but upon their w
and their children.

But to-day these farmers, thank God! are thinking, and also
mothers, wives, and daughters, "their sisters, their cousins, and
aunts." We find, as a result of this mighty thought in the hear
the people, a movement of the great common people of this nation,
that is the protest of the patient burden-bearers of the world ag
political superstition, a movement which is an echo of the life of Jes
Nazareth, a movement that means revolution,—not a revolution su
deluged the streets of Paris with blood in 1793, but the revolutic
brain and ballots that shall shake this continent and move humanity e
where. The voice which is coming up to-day from the mystic cor
the American heart is the same voice which Lincoln heard blending
the guns of Fort Sumter. It is breaking into a clarion cry which w
heard round the world, and thrones will fall and crowns will cru
and the divine right of kings and capital will fade away like the mi
the morning when the angel of liberty shall kindle the fires of justi
the hearts of men.

An injury to one is the concern of all. Founded upon the et
principles of truth and right, with special privileges to none, the far
movement could not well exclude the patient burden-bearers of the l
And so we find them opening wide the doors of this new and m
movement, the Farmers' Alliance, admitting women into the ran
the organization, actually recognizing the fact that they are human b
and treating them as such, with full privileges of membership and p
tion. And the women who have borne the heat and the burden c
day were not slow to accept the newly-offered privileges, undeterr
the fact that the new organization was political, though non-partisar
they gladly accepted the privileges extended them, until we find t
upwards of half a million women in the Farmers' Alliance, who
taken up the study of social and political problems, and are studyin
investigating the great issues of the day, fully cognizant of the fac
in the political arena alone can these great problems be satisfac
settled.

You will wonder, perhaps, why the women of the West are inte
so much in this great uprising of the common people, the mightie
rising that the world has seen since Peter the Hermit led the arm
the East to rescue the tomb of the Saviour from the grasp of the i
I will tell you, friends: if you will refer to your old school-map
will find that that portion of our country now the valuable, tee
fruitful West, was twenty-five or thirty years ago marked there
"Great American Desert, the treeless plain." About that tim
women of the East turned their faces towards the boundless, b

prairies of the West. They accompanied their husbands, sons, and brothers; they came with the roses of health on their cheeks; they left home and friends, school and church, and all which makes life dear to you and me, and turned their faces toward the untried West, willing to brave the dangers of pioneer life upon the lonely prairies with all its privations; their children were born there, and there upon the prairies our little babes lie buried. And after all our years of sorrow, loneliness, and privation, we are being robbed of our farms, of our homes, at the rate of five hundred a week, and turned out homeless paupers, outcasts and wanderers, robbed of the best years of our life and our toil. Do you wonder that women are joining the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor? Let no one of this audience for one moment suppose that this Alliance movement is but a passing episode of a brief political career. We have come to stay, for we are advocating the principles of truth, right, and justice. Our demands are founded upon the Sermon on the Mount, and that other command, that ye love one another. We seek to put into practical operation the teachings of Christ, who was sent to bring about a better day. Then there shall be no more coal kings nor silver kings, but a better day when there shall be no more millionaires, no more paupers, and no more waifs in our streets.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1891.

Morning Session.

POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

After a solo by Mrs. Edwin Z. Perkins, "Fear not ye, O Israel!" the President said,—

I wish to express here what has been in my own heart every time the golden bugles of the sweet voice of woman have ascended for us in notes of praise and aspiration, a sense of thankfulness we women with less tuneful voices feel toward those who come here thus to voice that which is deepest in our own hearts; and I am sure that every one of us this morning has the sense of a redemption in the great blessed heart of God, such as we had not before our sister sang to us.

Let us now unite in prayer with Mrs. A. C. Thorpe, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, the President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in that city.

The opening prayer was by Mrs. Thorpe.

The President. We have a remarkable programme this morning, one of the strongest and best of the entire Council.

Here are names that you have heard—some of them for years and some of them for a less time—on the great subject of the widest evolution of the disenthralment of women by which we will match the votes of the street by the votes of the home (applause); by which we will offset the ignorance of those who are not ill-intentioned but only ignorant, through the thoughtful, throbbing, clear brains of the women let loose from the schools of our country; by which we will engage the American element, the native-born element, though not in the least putting it over or against or antagonistic to the foreign-born, because we are all Americans. But yet it will be a mighty power, a pure flowing river of sentiment and purpose when the women of America are able to be represented at the point where opinion passes into law. We are here in the interest of that hour.

If we were to have a paper this morning on the Patriarchate, everybody because of having often heard that expression would understand it. But we have one this morning on the Matriarchate, the mother State, the Republic in which the mothers have a part. (Applause.)

The word is the coinage of a bright brain that has been long in our service, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the address is to be read by our faithful—I do not like to say "faithful *Achates*,"—that does not fill the bill,—by the *other* one of the double stars of the first magnitude, Susan B. Anthony, Vice-President of the Council, and mother of almost everything good that is going among the women. (Great applause.)

Miss Anthony then read the address of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, entitled "The Matriarchate."

THE MATRIARCHATE, OR MOTHER-AGE.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON. Without going into any of the fine calculations of historians as to the centuries of human growth, I would simply state that some agree on about eighty-five thousand years. They assign sixty thousand to savagery, twenty thousand to barbarism, and five thousand to civilization.

For my present purpose, these facts are only interesting to show for how long a period, in proportion, women reigned supreme; the arbiters of their own destiny, the protectors of their children, the acknowledged builders of all there was of home life, religion, and later, from time to time, of government.

All along from the beginning until the sixteenth century, when Luther eliminated the feminine element wholly from the Protestant religion and brought the full power of the Church to enforce woman's complete subjection, we find traces of the matriarchate. Karl Pearson, in a series of deeply interesting essays, give us the result of his researches into the works of modern historians, and the startling facts they unearth, from what to most of us is the dead, unknown, eternal past, shadowed in mystery. The publication of Wilkeson's "Ancient Egypt" in 1836, of "Das Mutterecht," by Bachofen in 1861, of Morgan's "Ancient Society" in 1877, with other lesser lights pursuing the same trend of investigation, all show the leading, independent position women held for ages.

What is often said, and repeated from time to time and never contradicted, is accepted as truth. Thus, the assertion that women have always been physically inferior to men, and consequently have always been held in a subject condition, has been universally believed.

This view has furnished the opponents to woman's emancipation their chief arguments for holding her in bondage, and logically so, for if at all periods and in all latitudes and longitudes woman had held the same subordinate position, men would naturally infer that what we choose to call Providence, for wise purposes, had made woman the slave of man. The worst feature of these assumptions is that women themselves believe them, and feel that to strive for their own emancipation is simply an

attempt at the impossible. Fortunately, historical research has at last proved the fallacy of these assumptions and all the arguments that grow out of them. Mankind may be traced by a chain of necessary inferences back to a time when, ignorant of fire, without articulate language, without artificial weapons, they depended, like the wild animals, upon the spontaneous fruits of the earth.

Through all this period woman was left to protect herself and forage for her children. Morgan, in his "Ancient Society," gives many remarkable examples of the superior position of women among different tribes in the latter part of the period of barbarism. Among the greater number of the American aborigines the descent of property and children were in the female line. Women sat in the councils of war and peace, and their opinions had equal weight on all questions. Among the Winnebagoes that occupied the territory now known as Wisconsin, a woman was at the head of the nation. The same was true among the early tribes or gens in the Eastern Hemisphere. In the councils of the Iroquois gens every adult male or female member had a voice upon all questions brought before it. It elected and deposed its sachem and chief, it elected Keepers of the Faith, it condoned or avenged the murder of a *gentilis*, and it adopted persons into the gens.

At the epoch of European discovery, the American Indian tribes generally were organized into gentes, with descent in the female line. Before paterfamilias was known, the family was nowhere considered a unit around which society centred. Nothing whatever was based on the family in any of its forms, because it was incapable of entering a gens as a whole. The gens was homogeneous and to a great extent permanent in duration, and as such the natural basis of a social system. A family of the monogamic type might have individualized and become powerful in society at large, but the gens did not and could not recognize the family as an integer of itself.

This is equally true of the modern family and political society. Although individualized by property rights and privileges, and recognized as a legal entity by statutory enactments, the family is not the unit of the political system. The State recognizes the counties of which it is composed, the county its townships, but the townships take no note of the family. So in the early periods the nation recognized its tribes, the tribes its phratries, and the phratries its gentes, but the gens took no note of the family.

Thus Morgan flatly contradicts modern historians who assert that the social system of the early Greeks "was the home, the hearth, or family." Like our modern opponents, they cling to the idea of "the family unit," because on that is based the absolute power of the father over the property, children, and the civil and political rights of wives. It is worthy of

note that our barbarian ancestors seem to have had a higher idea of justice to woman than American men in the nineteenth century, professing to believe, as they do, in our republican principles of government.

During these early periods the property of woman was in her own line and gens, and man's property was in his own line and gens. The following case at the Pueblo of Oraybe shows that the husband acquires no rights over the property of the wife, or over the children of the marriage. A Zunian married an Oraybe woman, and had by her three children. He resided with them at Oraybe until his wife died, when the relatives of the deceased wife took possession of her children and her household property, leaving to him his clothing, horse, and weapons. As was the custom, he returned to his own people at Zuni. A similar case occurred at another of the Moqui Pueblos. A woman died, leaving property, children, and husband. The deceased wife's relatives took the property and children, and all the husband was allowed to take was his own clothing, with the privilege of going whithersoever he desired. From these cases, it appears the children belonged to the mother, not to the father, and that he was not allowed to take them even after the mother's death. Such, also, was the usage among the Iroquois and other Northern tribes, and among the village Indians of Mexico.

The growth of the idea of property, and the rise of monogamy, which in a measure assured the paternity of children, formed motives sufficiently powerful to bring children into the gens of their father and a participation in the inheritance of his estate. But this invasion of the mother's rights was a slow process and for long periods resisted.

Mr. Morgan shows, too, that the early tribes in Greece, like the American aborigines, were essentially democratic in their government. Historians, accustomed to monarchial governments, would naturally interpret words and actions in harmony with their ideas. Thus, Mr. Grote has a memorable dictum of Ulysses in the Iliad to prove that the Greeks had a one-man government: "The rule of many is not a good thing; let us have one ruler only,—one king,—him to whom Zeus hath given the sceptre with the tutelary sanctions." But this saying has no significance as applied to government. Ulysses, from whose address the quotation is taken, was speaking of the command of an army before a besieged city. There was no occasion for Ulysses to discuss or endorse any plan of government; but he had sufficient reason for advocating obedience to a single commander of the army before a besieged city.

As thus we have seen that Grote, in his "History of Greece," writing from his own true inwardness, mistook the spirit of the times of which he wrote, it behooves us women to question all historians, sacred and profane, who teach by examples or precepts any philosophy that lowers the status of the mothers of the race, or favors the one-man power in government.

bearing, became on this very account the main factor in human progress. The man's contributions at this early period are nothing as compared to woman's. Her varied responsibilities as mother, bread-winner, protector, defender of a group of helpless children, raised her to intellectual and inventive supremacy and made her the teacher and ruler of man.

"Perhaps more interesting for us to-day is the actual existence of the matriarchate in the north of Africa among the Touaregs. 'The matrix dyes the child' is one of their proverbs. The child belongs to the mother and not to the father; it is the blood of the mother, and not that of the father, which confers on the child the rank he is to take. Formerly, when there was a question of territorial distribution, the lands granted to each family were inscribed in the name of the mother. The Berber law gives to women the administration of their property; at Rhat, they alone dispose of houses, gardens,—in a word, of all the landed property in the country. Among the Touaregs, not only is woman held as the equal of man, but she enjoys a preferable condition. She disposes of her hand, and in the conjugal community she administers her own fortune, without being forced to contribute to the expenses of the household. Thus it happens that, as productions accumulate, the greater part of the wealth is in the hands of the women.

"The Targui (which is the adjective for Touareg) woman is monogamous; she has imposed monogamy on her husband, although the Mussulman law permits him several wives. She is independent in regard to her husband, whom she can repudiate on the slightest pretext: she comes and goes freely. These social customs have produced extraordinary developments in the Targui woman. Her intelligence and her initiative spirit are astonishing in the midst of a Mussulman society. She excels in bodily exercises; on the back of a dromedary she travels a hundred kilometres to attend a *soirée;* she competes in races with the boldest cavalier of the desert. She is distinguished by intellectual culture; the ladies of the tribe of Ymanan are celebrated for their beauty and their musical talent; when they give concerts the men come eagerly from the most distant parts, adorned like male ostriches. The women of the Berber tribes sing every evening to the accompaniment of their violin; they improvise; in the open desert they revive the *cours d'amour* of Provence. The Touaregs are the descendants of the Lybians spoken of by Herodotus. This historian tells us that 'in the valley of the Nile the women go to market and traffic, whilst the men, shut up in houses, weave the linen. The male children are not compelled by law to maintain their parents; this charge is incumbent by law upon the daughters.' The imposition of such a duty on the daughters sufficed to establish the rule that the wealth of the family should belong to the women, and wherever the woman possesses

this economic position she is not under the guardianship of her husband, but is the head of the family."

The Rev. Samuel Gorman, a missionary among the Taguna Pueblo Indians, remarks, in an address before the Historical Society of New Mexico, that "the right of property belongs to the female part of the family, and descends in that line from mother to daughter. Their land is held in common, as the property of the community, but after a person cultivates a lot he has personal claim to it, which he can sell to one of the community. . . . Their women generally have control of the granary, and they are more provident than their Spanish neighbors about the future. Ordinarily they try to have a year's provision on hand. It is only when two years of scarcity succeed each other that Pueblos, as a community, suffer hunger."

Of the Senecas of North America, the Rev. Arthur Wright wrote in 1873: "As to their family system, when occupying the old long-houses, it is probable that some one clan predominated, the women taking in husbands, however, from other clans. Usually, the females ruled the house. The stores were in common; but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such an order it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey. The house would be too hot for him; and, unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother, he must retreat to his own clan, or go and start a new matrimonial alliance in some other. The women were the great power among the clan, as everywhere else. They did not hesitate, when occasion required, 'to knock off the horns,' as it was technically called, from the head of a chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors. The original nomination of the chiefs also always rested with the women."

"The account we find given by the Portuguese navigators of the Nairs, a people inhabiting the coast of Malabar in the fifteenth century, is another proof of the superior condition of women under previous family systems. The Nairs were then in a state of actual civilization; they had a marine and well-organized army; their towns were wealthy and the inhabitants courteous in manners. But the previous notions of the European visitors were strangely upset by what they saw of the social position of the women. There were large families, we are told, consisting of several hundred members bearing the same name. The real estate belonged in common to all members of the gens; the most complete equality reigned among them. The husband, instead of living with his wife and his children, lived with his brothers and sisters in the maternal house; when he left it, he was always accompanied by his favorite sister;

at his death his personal property did not go to his children, but was distributed between the children of his sisters. The mother, or, in case of her death, her eldest daughter, was the head of the family; her eldest brother, named the foster-father, managed the estate; the husband was a guest; he only entered the house on fixed days, and did not sit at table with his wife and children. 'The Nairs,' says Barbosa, 'have an extraordinary respect for their mother; it is from her they receive wealth and honors; they honor equally their eldest sister, who is to succeed the mother and take the management of the family. The children belong to the mother, and she takes their support on herself.' The Nair family system was maintained among the Malabar peoples till the invasion of Hyder Ali in 1766."

Strabo says of the primitive people of Spain, "That they suffered a most foolish governance by women; that the women possessed the property, and it passed from mother to daughter; that the latter gave away their brothers in marriage; that the men took a dowry with them into the houses of their wives; that the women performed all the agricultural work, and were as hardy as men."

The women at a later period were not only the rulers of the home, but they were priestesses; the deities were in a great part goddesses. All there was of learning and tradition was in the hands of the women, and folk custom long recognized their superiority to men.

The woman being the source of traditional religion, the care of the gods was essentially hers. About the hearth arose the first conceptions of the altar and sanctuary and the immortality of the soul. She was essentially the wise, and wrote with her staff in the ashes the will of the gods. Her pots and kettles reappear in every witch trial in the Middle Ages. The safety of mother and child, in the solitudes of the vast primeval forests, was due in no small measure to the superstition that woman was in communion with the gods, who would avenge her wrongs. Her spirit is supposed to linger around the hearth after death, and to-day the solitary student sitting over the fire, or the peasant when his family are out, will tell you they have been alone at the hearth with their mother-soul. As woman forms the religion and tradition of this period, the goddesses, not gods, are the more numerous and most worshipped. The oldest, the wisest, the most mysteriously powerful, of the Teutonic deities are female. Jacob Grimm said of the German goddesses years before modern investigations had brought the mother-age to light:

"In the case of the gods, the previous investigation could reach its goal by considering them separately. It seems advisable, however, to consider the goddesses collectively as well as individually, because a common idea lies at the basis of them all, and will thus be more clearly marked. They are conceived of peculiarly as divine mother (götter-

mutter) travelling about and visiting mortals. From them mankind has learned the business and the arts of housekeeping, agriculture, cattle-raising, spinning, weaving, sowing, reaping, as well as watching the hearth. These labors bring peace and rest to the land, and the memory of them remains firmer in pleasing traditions than war and fighting, which, like women, the majority of the goddesses shun." Karl Pearson says, "A truer although unconscious tribute to the civilizing work of women can hardly be imagined. If we add to the arts mentioned by Grimm the art of healing, the elements of religious faith as a tradition, and the runic art of writing, we have a slight picture of what woman accomplished in the centuries which intervened between the promiscuous period and the complete establishment of the father-age."

With such personal independence and superiority, such authority in the national councils, in religious faith, and at the fireside, with the absolute control of her own home, property, and children, how did it come to pass that the mother was at last dethroned and womanhood degraded in every nation on the globe?

The mother's labors had from an early period been re-enforced by those of her sons whose tastes led them to agriculture and the herding of cattle, to domestic life rather than that of the wandering nomad existence of the wily hunter, but this class was proportionally small. However, in process of time,—as the home with its increasing comforts and attractions, fire, cooked food, and woman's tender care in old age, sickness, and death, the innocent prattle of children, the mother's songs and stories, her religious faith and services, all appealed to the better feelings of the wily hunter also,—men began to think, when weary of the battle and the chase, that they would like a permanent foothold in some family group besides the one into which they were born.

As soon as monogamic marriage appeared with property and descent in the male line, and men found themselves comfortably ensconced in a home of their own, they began little by little to make their aggressions, and in time completely dominated woman, leaving her no remnant of authority anywhere, neither in the home, nor at the altar, nor in the councils of the nation.

Having no paternal instinct, no natural love for children, the devices of men to establish the rights of paternity were as varied as ridiculous. It was the custom at one time when the mother gave birth to a child for the acknowledged father to take to his bed to pretend that he had shared in the perils of labor, and thus prove his identity, while the wife waited on him; for the women, accustomed to agricultural work, were so hardened by it that they did not suffer in childbirth.

On this point Karl Pearson tells us the transition from the mother to the father-age was marked by the appearance of women of gigantic

stature. The old legends of contests between men and women for supremacy are not such idle fancies as some would have us believe. Very dark shadows indeed do such figures as those of Ildico, Fredegunde, and Brunhilde cast across the pages of history. Such women were only paralleled by the Clytemnestra and Medea of a like phase in Greek development. Among the Germans, too, the poets represent the contest between men and women for the mastery. Wuodan replaces Hellja; Siegfried conquers Brunhilde; Beovulf, the offspring of Grindel and Thor, fights with Gialp and Griep, the daughters of Geirrod. One great element of physical and mental vigor is freedom, which women have never enjoyed except under the Matriarchate.

The Amazons, the present body-guard of the King of Dahomey, the astounding powers of endurance exhibited by domestic servants and the peasant girls of Southern Germany and Italy, the fish-women at Boulogne, all point to the great strength when once the physique has been developed.

The victory of man over woman was not easily accomplished. It took long centuries to fully confirm it, and traces of the mother-age remain throughout the Mediæval times. The permanency of sex relations among the agriculturists and the necessity for organization in matters of defence, which must be intrusted mainly to men, were the beginnings of the father-age.

For though women had been compelled to fight for their own protection, and were abundantly able to maintain the contest, yet wars for territory and conquests over other tribes and nations were opposed by all the tenderest sentiments of their nature. Hence they naturally of their own accord would withdraw from the councils of war and the battle-field, but as angels of mercy to minister to the wounded and the dying. Thus man became ruler, tribal organizer, tribal father, before his position of sexual father was recognized. While the mother still ruled the house, "the Alvater" ruled the fight, though ofttimes guided by the woman.

Driven from the commanding position of home mother, and deprived of her rights to property and children, the last fortress of the Teutonic woman was her sacerdotal privileges. She remained holy as priestess. She had charge of the tribal sacrifice and the tribal religion.

From this last refuge she was driven by the introduction of the Christian religion, with its narrow Pauline doctrine, which made woman mentally and physically the inferior of man, and lawfully in subjection to him.

The spirit of the Church in its contempt for women, as shown in the Scriptures, in Paul's epistles and the Pentateuch, the hatred of the fathers, manifested in their ecclesiastical canons, and in the doctrines of asceticism, celibacy, and witchcraft, destroyed man's respect for woman and legalized the burning, drowning, and torturing of women by the thousand.

Women and their duties became objects of hatred to the Christian missionaries and of alternate scorn and fear to pious ascetics and monks. The priestess mother became something impure, associated with the devil, and her lore an infernal incantation, her very cooking a brewing of poison, nay, her very existence a source of sin to man. Thus woman, as mother and priestess, became woman as witch. The witch trials of the Middle Ages, wherein thousands of women were condemned to the stake, were the very real traces of the contest between man and woman. Christianity putting the religious weapon into man's hand made his conquest complete. But woman did not yield without prolonged resistance and a courageous final struggle. Driven from the home, an outlaw and a wanderer everywhere, ostracized by the State, condemned by the courts, crucified by the Church, the supreme power of the mother of the race was conquered only by the angel of death, and the Dark Ages tolled her funeral knell.

It was this wholesale, violent suppresion of the feminine element, in the effort to establish the Patriarchate, that, more than any other one cause, produced the Dark Ages.

Morgan, in his "Ancient Society," attributes the premature destruction of ethnic life, in the societies of Greece and Rome, to their failure to develop and utilize the mental and moral conservative forces of the female intellect, which were not less essential than those of men to their progress.

In closing, I would say that every woman present must have a new sense of dignity and self-respect, feeling that our mothers, during some periods in the long past, have been the ruling power, and that they used that power for the best interests of humanity. As history is said to repeat itself, we have every reason to believe that our turn will come again, it may not be for woman's supremacy, but for the as yet untried experiment of complete equality, when the united thought of man and woman will inaugurate a just government, a pure religion, a happy home, a civilization at last in which ignorance, poverty, and crime will exist no more. Those who watch already behold the dawn of the new day.

> "Night wanes—the vapor round the mountains curled
> Melts into morn, and light awakes the world.
> Mighty Nature bounds as from her birth:
> The sun is in the heavens, and life on earth;
> Flowers in the valley, splendor in the beam,
> Health on the gale, and freshness in the stream."

MISS ANTHONY. The President wants me to make a speech, and don't feel very much like talking after Mrs. Stanton has read a paper,—mean after I have read a paper of hers.

The reason why the suffrage movement is represented in this Counc

to-day as it is, is because it is the one great underlying reform of all the other reforms. (Applause.)

You cannot—no individual woman, no class of women, can propose to make the world the better through any public movement whatsoever, without at last finding their need of the right to vote.

Let me give you one little illustration: In the city of Philadelphia they have had what is named the New Century Club ever since 1876, ever since the Centennial year. At last the members of this club propose to form a stock company. That club has been one of the most conservative ones of the country.

They did not touch woman suffrage. No. The most conservative women of the most conservative churches of Philadelphia are members of that club, and have subscribed towards the stock of this new and magnificent women's temple, to be built in Philadelphia, one thousand dollars, five thousand dollars, ten thousand dollars all around.

They went up to the Legislature to get an act of incorporation for that stock company of women, and the sage men of the Legislature said married women cannot form a stock company in the State of Pennsylvania. They referred the matter to the judge, and the judge said he was not quite sure about the law, but it would be a dangerous precedent to establish.

What has that brought all those conservative women to? To find out they would like to have a hand in making the laws and that the laws of disfranchisement blocked their way.

The hearty welcome with which every movement by women, every movement for women is hailed on every side carries me back to forty years ago.

I made my first campaign in the State of New York in 1854 and 1855. I went out into the county-seats of fifty-four of the then sixty counties. In one little town when I repaired to the court-house,—for I had made application to speak in court-houses,—I found the janitor and half a dozen men. I went in and took my seat by the stove, and presently I saw the door pushed a little way open and a bonnet peep in; but the bonnet did not come in! (Laughter.) Then a man came, and another man, and by and by the door again gently creaked a little way and I saw another bonnet, but the bonnet did not come in. (Laughter.) Not a single woman dared to come into that court-house that day at Suffolk.

Somebody asks what I was speaking about. I was speaking about suffrage. (Laughter.) Such was the interest with regard to this matter that a dozen or fifteen men came to that afternoon session. I read my little say, for I did not dare to say that my soul was my own without a paper in my hand. Then they went away. In the evening they all brought their wives with them. (Applause.)

That was less than forty years ago. To-day, no matter for what purpose, or by what class of women who are known to be educated, cultured, sensible women, wherever a woman's meeting is announced, not only for the special rights of women but for the advancement of any possible reform, it is there where the multitudes go every time.

That is the difference between now and then, and I could trace the whole line down in precisely the same way. Woman has been created,—you might say she has been born anew. She has just come to life.

She just knows that she lives to-day, and just begins to feel that she is an equal factor in every department of life,—in the home, in society, in the church, in the state,—everything and everywhere, and that is exactly what the Woman Suffrage movement has brought about in its long and wearisome journey of forty years and more. (Applause.)

Let me give you another little ill stration. The most popular societies that are organized by women are snatching away from the old suffrage ranks all the bright, smart young women that have been brought to us, so that we are likely to be left alone in the suffrage ranks because all these popular people want our women to help them. That is a good sign of the times, and I am glad of it.

Now, friends, I have nothing in the world to say, only to rejoice that the whole world of men and women is coming to feel that equality of rights for women thoroughly and fully established is the first step in the line of progress; that the whole Nation halts to-day, every good thing halts to-day, waiting for woman's emancipation.

Governments never do any great good things from mere principle, from mere love of justice. Some of our women are expecting that the Governments of these United States and of the forty-four different States will be moved to blot out that little adjective "male" from all the Constitutions, and place women on the proud platform of political equality with men from the mere sense of justice.

But, my dear friends, you expect too much of human nature when you expect that. The two great steps of progress, the two great acts of justice which this Nation has vouchsafed to grant to peoples who were denied their rights under the Government, were not brought about purely from a love of justice to those classes.

During the war, there was the great question of slavery. The abolitionists had aroused public sentiment from centre to circumference, but when the Rebellion broke out even Lincoln himself said that, if he could put down the Rebellion without freeing a slave, he would do so; if he could put it down by freeing a part and not all, he would do that; but if he found he could *not* put down the Rebellion without abolishing slavery, then he would abolish slavery. It was as a means to an end that slavery was abolished in this Nation, and not from a universal sense and

love of justice to the race; it was a military necessity that compelled this Government to do that great act of justice to the slave. A little later on we found our Government brought face to face with a necessity equally dire, a political necessity to increase the balance of power of a particular party, then the Government went forward and enfranchised the men of that race.

Now, I say to you just precisely as this Government could never have put down that Rebellion except by the granting of that justice to the black men of this nation, just exactly as the reconstruction of the Government after the war could never have been accomplished but by that act of justice of enfranchisement to the black men, just so to-day: not a single reform which is being pleaded for and prayed for and worked for by all the different classes of men and women of this Nation,—not one of them can ever go forward to consummation until the Government of these United States does the third great act of justice,—emancipates and enfranchises women.

What this Council is doing is to notify the Government that it cannot get along without women, and as soon as the individual politicians and the men assembled in State Legislatures and in our Congress really come to feel that their wheels are blocked in the doing of justice and right in every possible direction, because of the helplessness and powerlessness of the women of the Nation, then they will go forward, and by some means or other enfranchise women.

There are various methods, but I am not going to talk about them. There are various methods by which the women may be enfranchised, all of them circuitous and complicated, but nevertheless, when we shall have educated the people in all the school-houses of all the States of this Nation to feel that justice to woman must come, that the ballot must be placed in the hands of woman, then it will not be difficult for the men in legislative halls to find a way by which they can bring about this result. The method is not of as much consequence as is the universal education of the people. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT. The next speaker on the programme is Mary Seymour Howell, "Gains of the Last Three Years." Mrs. Howell, of New York, is one of the leaders in the suffrage movement. She has been out in Dakota, and I think she will give us something rousing.

GAINS OF THE LAST THREE YEARS.

MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL. Every people represents one idea and but one. Of all the world the American Nation is the best representative of liberty. Our forefathers laid the foundation principles of this republic broad and deep. Many of the early statesmen of our Nation pleaded for a broad interpretation of our Constitution. The spirit of the Declaration

of Independence was liberal that wrote "all men are c eated free and equal," and yet narrow weakness sustained slavery. The spirit was liberal that said "taxation without representation is tyranny," and "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and yet the history of this republic contradicts this principle.

Every epoch has one idea which must prevail. The spirit of our epoch is liberty.

Woman stands to-day before the Congress of these United States asking for her political freedom. Her arguments for her political status have never been answered, when she says, For my tax-money give me representation; when you govern me and make me amenable to the laws of this country, give me a voice in making them; when she says, Give me the power of the ballot, and I shall not starve because of the miserable prices given me for my labor, neither will I sully the whiteness of my soul for bread, there is no dignified answer returned.

The spirit of our epoch is liberty that conquers. We are in a transition state. The heresy of yesterday is the orthodoxy of to-day. Every contest in the human race has been decided for humanity.

As women of this republic, as citizens of these United States trying to obtain the same political status as man, we come before the National Council to speak of our gains in the last three years.

War, either physical or mental, is an exchange of ideas. It is a conflict of error and truth. I come to-day to tell you of victories.

The Mississippi Constitutional Convention seriously considered the admission of women to all the rights of citizenship. This led to a discussion of the subject all over the South, until, at Atlanta, a vast audience rose to express their full acceptance of the idea of equal rights for women. The Kentucky Constitutional Convention secured better laws for women, and a few energetic daughters of that land are making the old State known for vigorous thought as it is now for that almost national air, "My Old Kentucky Home." This is the South. From that sunny land we look for great things.

Columbia College admits women to study law. The great University of Johns Hopkins allows woman the full advantage of a medical education. In the Legislature of Vermont ninety-eight men voted that tax-paying women should have the franchise. Municipal suffrage has been agitated in many of our State Legislatures and with an increasing number of votes in favor of that measure. The city of New York became prominent last fall because for the first time women of the churches, beginning with St. George Episcopal Church, entered earnestly into the movement for better municipal government. This was seconded by the best men of that city.

Last year, in the Congress of the United States, the House Judiciary

Committee reported in favor of a sixteenth amendment to secure the political rights of women. In many parts of the West the people have heard the arguments for the political liberty of woman. Last summer South Dakota became the summer school of this nation, the Chautauqua of America. For the first time Congress, last spring, recognized woman as a factor in this country by appointing women as Commissioners of the World's Exposition to be held in Chicago in 1893.

The great pioneer Church of our land has voted that women shall sit as delegates in its General Conference. What gains I bring you to-day, men and women! What a victory is this over Dr. Buckley and the starch-box forum! The President of this Council, who has told us that "the only indestructible material in destiny's fierce crucible is character," may yet as a Bishop say to the Church, in the great conflict for right into which this epoch is going, "Fail not thou." And we women who are considered too pure to cast a ballot may be allowed to pass the bread and wine at the memorial supper of our Blessed Lord, the greatest reformer the world has ever known; surely we have cause to rejoice to-day over these gains. "The world goes round and round, ever the truth comes uppermost and ever is justice done."

But the greatest gain of the last three years, and it is a victory that in its magnitude surpasses everything that has gone before, is the admission of Wyoming as a State into this Union, with woman suffrage in its Constitution. This new free State, the only real Republic on earth, has an area of ninety-eight thousand square miles, room enough for all the women of this nation. In size it is the eighth State, is more than ninety-seven times larger than Rhode Island. Fremont County is equal to the combined area of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, and Delaware. This new State, that was the youngest of the Territories, is destined to become the richest one of our Union. Its mineral wealth cannot be estimated. This State alone could easily pay the national debt. Reports from that country tell us it is cool in summer and mild in winter, with almost perpetual sunshine, and the land is filled with the songs of one hundred and twenty-five varieties of birds. These tiny songsters nearly burst their little throats for very joy last summer when the news was sent over the wires that their land was the "Land of the free and the home of the brave." For the brave men of that Territory (God bless them!) said, "We will come into this Union with our women enfranchised, or we will stay out if they must be disfranchised."

The National Yellowstone Park lies almost entirely within its borders, with its grand scenery and its wonderful freaks of nature. How magnificent is this glorious State! A true land of liberty, it can hold nothing narrow, with its broad meadows that reach out like great seas and fill the soul with thoughts limitless and sublime. Encircling these are lofty,

majestic mountains, whose snow-capped tops lift the mind from pettiness to grandeur. Big mountains make big men. Then the eye rests on charming water-falls that seem singing their life away as they rush on to join the rivers that carry them to the ocean. This State is composed of citizens of the highest character. They are of high average in education and general habits, and have gone there from the most enlightened portions of our Union, principally the East and South, and from Europe.

In the language of the Convention address to the people, "The residents of Wyoming are the descendants of free citizens such as framed the Constitution of the United States. The loyalty of the sons to the republic and to republican institutions, and their love of liberty, have not been diminished, but increased, by the hardships, dangers, and difficulties that have been encountered and overcome in laying the foundations of this Commonwealth." This State has a compulsory school law and the teachers are carefully selected. It allows no one to vote who cannot read the Constitution of the State.

Woman suffrage was first adopted in 1869, and was favored by both political parties. A convention was held to draw up the Constitution of Wyoming, September, 1889, at Cheyenne, the capital. Fifty-five delegates were chosen, forty-nine were present, every county and both political parties being represented.

Thus begins the Constitution:

"We, the people of the State of Wyoming, grateful to God for our civil, political, and religious liberties, and desiring to secure them to ourselves and perpetuate them to our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution.

"ARTICLE I.

"*Declaration of Rights.*

"SECTION I. All power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness. For the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish the government in such manner as they may think proper.

"SECTION II. In this inherent right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness all members of the human race are equal.

"SECTION III. Since equality in the enjoyment of natural and civil rights is made sure only through political equality, the laws of this State affecting the political rights and privileges of its citizens shall be without distinction of race, color, sex, or any circumstance or condition whatsoever, other than individual incompetency or unworthiness, duly ascertained by a court of competent jurisdiction."

Again, in this Constitution we find, under Section I., Article VI., "The rights of the citizens of the State of Wyoming to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this State shall equally enjoy all civil, political, and religious rights and privileges."

In Section VI. of same article we read: "All idiots, insane persons, and persons convicted of infamous crimes, unless restored to civil rights, are excluded from the elective franchise."

How happy and thankful I am for one State that does not class women with idiots, insane persons, and criminals!

The bill to admit this State into the Union passed the House March 26, 1890,—yeas 132, nays 120, 77 not voting.

In the debate in the Senate, Mr. Vest, of Missouri, called woman suffrage an unprepared, hurried, impetuous, sentimental suffrage, that goes from feeling and not from judgment, and he said if this country is ruined, it will be by immature, unprepared, impulsive, and thoughtless voting. In this last remark we quite agree with Mr. Vest, and think he has correctly diagnosed the disease that to-day is eating out the heart of this Nation.

Mr. Regan, of Texas, had much to say about woman's sphere. In his statement that every State protects woman by its laws he showed amazing ignorance. She has no protection from the liquor traffic, and in many States, including my own, the father can will away the child from the moment of birth, ay, even before birth, to whomsoever he pleases, in the wide world. The only way in many of the States of this Union for a mother to own her child is out of wedlock, and so a premium is put on vice by those laws that Mr. Regan thinks protect woman so well. Mr. Sanders asked him "if the law should not be an expression of the intellectual and moral sense of the people," and also, "is the statement that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed true or false?" But, although Mr. Regan made a second speech, he did not answer these questions.

Mr. Oates, of Alabama, likes the "timid, affectionate, effeminate woman." He does not like a "man-woman," whatever that is. He says, "She may be intelligent, but when she assumes the duties assigned by nature to man she becomes rough and tough." He adds, "However much women may know, however virtuous and good, they are not proper custodians of political sovereignty." He seems to contradict himself, because we are to get rough and tough like the men, who guard so well with the ever-abiding incense of tobacco and the fumes of whiskey this ark of human liberty. Then he shudders at the thought, as he expresses it, that the State of Wyoming would perform the unparalleled act of sending here a representative on this floor who is not a gentleman. Some

one asked him if he was sure that had never been done in the history of the Senate.

But, my friends, a laugh and a slur have not answered, cannot and never will answer, the cry for liberty.

Mr. Payne asked Mr. Morgan, of Alabama, referring to his speech in which he said "that the delegates that formed the thirteen original States meeting in convention and framing the Federal Constitution had no thought of women in politics," if he did not think these little technical objections would be more than overcome by the moral influence of women in our committee rooms, and in this chamber during exciting sessions: would not a great many of those habits, smoking, chewing, and so forth, be remedied and corrected by woman in our Senate?

Mr. Morgan said, "The churches of this country would sink to nothing, they would be abandoned to the rats and the owls, if it were not for the sustaining hand of woman." And yet he thinks all this vital goodness, this "power of an endless life," possessed by woman would be overcome by politics.

Ah, my friends, how terrible is the degradation of our glorious country, dragged to the very dust, but not by woman, so that in our United States, Senators tell us, even Christianity would fall before it! But, Mr. Morgan, you are wrong. The only thing that to-day can save this country is the pure heart and moral Christian influence of woman. By men the term politics, which ought to be synonymous with patriotism, has been made a by-word among all nations. With woman's voice in Congress and halls of legislation, our American statesmanship will become the light of the world.

Mr. Platt, of Connecticut, said that, though not a believer in woman suffrage, he believed in letting each Territory decide for itself. "Why should we, the Congress of the United States, stand here and say to the Territory where the women have enjoyed the right of voting for twenty years, and nobody arises to gainsay it or say that they have not exercised that right wisely,—why should we stand here and say, 'Keep out of the Union; we will let no community, no Territory enter here that does not deprive its women of the right which they have for twenty years enjoyed while in a territorial condition.' Let the Territories settle it for themselves, the republic will not go in pieces, the Union will not be dissolved. We shall not break up this grand and glorious country forsooth because we have admitted a State in which the people of the Territory acting with full knowledge have said that women may vote." And he adds, "every State in the Union can to-day, if it chooses, confer the right of suffrage on woman."

How proud of Connecticut I am to-day, the home of my ancestors, and how thankful to Mr. Platt, who is a better suffragist than he admits, and a builder of no mean workmanship in this great temple of human liberty!

You all know that on June 27, 1890, this bill admitting Wyoming into the Union with woman suffrage in its Constitution passed in the Senate,—yeas 29, nays 18, absent 37.

A few days after, President Harrison signed the bill. By that stroke of his pen he made himself immortal. On that day liberty had reached its greatest height. The history of the world is full of tears and blood shed for freedom, the earth is full of graves of men and women who have died for it. The scaffold, the knife, the rope, the pistol, have slain thousands of liberty's lovers, but they have not failed who have fallen thus. "They never fail who fall in a great cause." On that day in July last liberty triumphed. Of all the women in our land who rejoiced and held a glad celebration, one was happier than all others. It was the Goddess of Liberty. She smiled and said, "This is not a fleeting dream. I who am called Liberty will yet be truly free, and will place the crown of freedom on the womanhood of America. This century I have been a prophecy, in the twentieth I shall be a fulfilment."

The seal of the State of Wyoming contains the figure of a woman from whose uplifted arm hangs a broken chain, while the motto of the State is "Equal Rights."

So these "gains of the last three years," this action all through our country, proves what our people are worth. This conflict of ideas, true and false, old and new, is action in all its greatness. Would you know what a man is worth? See him act. So with our Nation. It shows all the worth residing in it.

We see that this transition period is one of intense thought, that the internal momentum that pushes it on is the love of liberty, that we are tending to a finer and higher civilization, that simplicity of life in state and church will be the strength of both, that the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is a creed broad and deep enough for all the conditions of life and for all the desires of the soul. The great social unrest is taking action, and it tells us that the human race, in the coming century, cannot be bound closely with creeds and vows. This action of our Nation lays bare its hidden elements and shows that the demand of this epoch is for liberty, for "one of thy rays, O liberty."

Thus we have given you the gains of the last three years. Not proudly would we boast, but humbly would we acknowledge that it is not the victor who has gained, but He who has given the victory. It is Providence. Serenely we fold our arms to-day, knowing that liberty will come to-morrow, because above the nations of the earth is God, because around our littleness is His greatness, "around our restlessness, His rest." We make no haste, for freedom draws near to bless humanity, to crown the world,—freedom that knows no color, no race, no sex. It is the epoch of liberty, full, far-spreading, far-reaching, glorious liberty.

"Hail to the coming singers,
Hail to the brave light-bringers!
Forward I reach, and share
All that they sing and dare.
The airs of heaven blow o'er me,
A glory shines before me
Of what mankind shall be,
Pure, generous, brave, and free.
A dream of man and woman,
Diviner but still human,
Solving the riddle old,
Shaping the age of gold.

"The love of God and neighbor,
And equal-handed labor;
The richest life where beauty
Walks hand in hand with duty.
Ring, bells in unreared steeples,
The joy of unborn peoples;
Sound, trumpets, far-off blown,
Your triumph is my own.
I feel the earth move sunward,
I join the great march onward,
And take by faith, while living,
My freehold of thanksgiving."

THE RELATION OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT TO OTHER REFORMS.

JULIA WARD HOWE. The great Aristotle, whom Dante calls "the Master of those who know," begins his treatise on Politics by contrasting two primal elements of all society, material and use. With your leave, I will borrow from him this use of words as the text of what I shall, very briefly and imperfectly, present to you.

In the economy of the things we know, material comes first, and use follows slowly. Or, we may say, material is given, and use is learned. The world in its infancy contained, in one form or another, as much material as it does now. What makes the difference between the ancient poverty of resources and the modern wealth of appliances to all desirable ends? The fact that mankind have learned the use and uses of what the first man saw but could not use.

Much of the wisdom of the human race has been shown in conservative care of the material, and in patient waiting until the great lessons of its use have been learned. To follow this thought in the domain of physics is not necessary for our present purpose. Let us make its application in the region of man's psychical experience.

In religion, the material given is the sensitiveness of human imagination to the phenomena which arouse the emotions of fear, of hope, the

love of the sublime, the reverence for unseen power. Through ages and ages of ignorance, how jealously have mankind guarded this, the initial condition of religion! What has seemed to them to war against it has been studiously put down, even with blood and fire; yea, multitudes have been willing to give their own lives for it. The Russian peasant to-day will fight to the death for the preservation of the ancient tradition, concerning which he knows only that his ancestors have believed it to be the true one. No light of erudition can reach him, not even the doctrine of a tradition truly more ancient than that to which he holds. Pass from this state of things to the best intelligence of Christendom. Study the fine net-work of its universal obligation, the glories of its hope, the uplifting power of its faith, here you may see the material carried to the highest use which our knowledge allows.

In political life, too, we can trace the material and the use. The raw material of humanity may be said to show three characteristics,—the desire for order, the love of power, the instinct of association. Among savage tribes or uncultivated nations, loyalty to a chieftain is loyalty to the idea of order, which it will be his office to bring out of chaos. The initial love of power is shown in all military movements. The instinct of association gathers the tribe and builds the city. So much as this we may see in Africa to-day or among our own red people. We might have seen it one hundred years ago among the Highlanders of Scotland. The use of this material appears in the great developments of political action and relation. In this progress of its growth, loyalty has turned from the chieftain to the principles which he should represent. Power lifts the very surface and foundation of civil existence, and crowns itself with all that the heart of man can desire, his brain devise, or his hand achieve, and the blind instinct of association is trained till it reaches the dignity of a society which anticipates and prefigures the kingdom of God on earth.

Now, having started with this look far back into the origin of things, let us come right down to the point which has been given for [illegible] to consider at this time, the political and moral function of women. [illegible] too, we shall find that the material has had its day,—I might ra[illegible], night, with luminous stars appearing here and there, and d[illegible]ful c[illegible]t scattering affright and danger.

In the political, the religious, and the social world, certain t[illegible] of the race have kept women in the condition of the [illegible]terial, k[illegible] in acquiring the true use of it, hindered by an educ[illegible] dispropor[illegible] to the general attainments and needs of human [illegible]ty. [illegible] gr[illegible] order of the world's development, this hinderance, [illegible] pov[illegible]ive[illegible] bars of adamant, is beginning to remove itself. The [illegible] I call ot[illegible] which ever kept our sex within arbitrary limits, now [illegible]t to c[illegible]

forth and start upon an hundred errands of benefit to the race. Wo are wanted to Christianize the heathen,—let them go! They are wa to redeem the slums and the prisons,—let them go. They are wa to watch the wicked game in which personal interests are staked ag the public welfare. Good and earnest men are saying all the co over, "Women are wanted to stand for public virtue at the polls God's name, let them go."

The three words which I spoke but now, religious, political, and s life, are three aspects of one great principle; you cannot deform c them without injury to the others. Society is safe only when the s Freedom guarantees the integrity of all of them.

You, women, are to act and appear as if you were the moral su of men. You are to make believe that you are his social equal. Y to be glad to count yourself his political inferior. Do these three cond go together? How are you to reconcile this moral superiority whic are held to represent with this political inferiority, in which you are l to acquiesce? I tell you, sisters, the three points have got to be mad and strong under us, or we shall not stand on any of them.

We take note of reforms when they reach the surface of societ the sympathetic fire kindles large areas, as a spark will light up th grass of a prairie. But the sources of reform lie deep, and no r abides which does not come up from the very subsoil of human exper

We have all seen reform under these two aspects. Some intel zeal or ambition induces individuals to bring to the notice of the munity the desirableness of improving its action in certain parti There will be an anti-rum movement, anti-tobacco, anti-war,—no what. Some things, perhaps much, will be obtained by these sp efforts, but they are likely to die of their own limitation. They ha the breadth of human nature behind them. My heart honors tho have been voices crying in the wilderness, "And with no language cry." Paul has such in mind, I must think, when he speaks of solitary and persecuted saints, who wandered up and down, clad in skins and goat-skins, who were stoned, thrown into prison, and wha But the Christ comes, with a throng about Him. He dares to sp His doctrine as a well of living water, springing up in Him to ever life. This was

> "The word at which the baby earth awoke,
> And smiling, keeps that smile forever more."

In the great sympathetic uprising of women to-day we behold those great movements which come up from the very depths of nature, the protest against our inaction is at once so profound widespread. I seem to have heard a voice saying, "Sisters, what doing?" And the answer, "Playing." Who set you to play? "Fa

Custom, our husbands and fathers." And then I saw the hand of an angel, which went over all the good work that is done on earth, and showed to me it was only half done, because the women had not done their share. And there came one of those spasms which shake the foundation of the body politic, and the women left their playing and arose in their might, to claim the full dignity of human responsibility and to bear its burdens with intelligence. And I tell you, friends, no reform will stand until the fundamental one of all shall be accomplished. Our house must be founded upon the bed-rock, and then all the winds of heaven will not prevail against it.

How shall we set off political action from social action, and say to one sex, "You shall rule in your domain, and we will rule in ours?" In the old order of things, the solidarity of all human interests was not discovered. The Church held its own against the State, and *vice versa;* labor against capital; pleasure against wisdom; life against immortality. The progress of time and of education has brought to view the missing links. The kingdom of humanity is one. The compelling force of intelligence draws the crooked into straightness, makes even the mountain and the plain, and Learning no longer keeps her luminous side for men and her darker side for women. The light of the ages shines equally on both, and now, as never before in the history of the world, can men and women walk together, with even step, in perfect harmony, the sacred ægis of right covering both alike, the weapons of truth arming both equally. Reform will be no more conceded step by step, and inch by inch, but a great love of righteousness will spring up in all human hearts, and the strongholds of sin and of vice will be swept away.

The opinion has been expressed in this Council that the State ought to be the sole authority in the administration of charities and reforms. One objection to this occurred to me,—viz., the weight of political considerations in appointments made in these departments. I hear on good authority that a change in political administration is often followed by the removal of the heads of public institutions, for the blind here, for the insane there.

I have also heard, from an esteemed and able teacher whose voice was heard here last evening, that this pernicious principle sometimes reaches our public schools, in which the dominant party will place a master of its own political creed, whether fit for the position or not. Now, I am not one of those who promise that the advent of women in the political arena will right every wrong, but I do believe that where women have voted, so far they have shown a disposition to choose the best candidates, outside of party lines. The facts in Wyoming will bear us out in this assertion. How important to the right administration of all public trusts will be the efficient participation of a non-partisan power! And I dare to promise

that the more women shall become participants in political life, the less will they be inclined to partisan action. It is the women who have no convictions of their own who fanaticize the men with whom they have to do with their unreasoning sympathy. Not for help of this sort was the advice of women sought in the ancient Teutonic councils, not for reflected opinion, but for spontaneous conviction. Not for such seconding does the wise man ask counsel of his wife; he does not want to know how she feels about what he thinks, but what she thinks herself.

In the common saying that nothing succeeds like success we may recognize this much of truth. Efficiency commands respect, and failure usually implies want of it. I think that our failure to attain the exercise of our rights of citizenship does lower us in the eyes of the men who withhold it. Our endeavors in all directions are handicapped by it. If we desire the charities and reforms that we love to have their proper place in the esteem of the community, we must achieve this fundamental success, which, once achieved, will swiftly promote all the others. A speaker told us lately of the fable which the hierarchy of the Methodist denomination invented in order to keep their women from taking part in the ordering of church government: the women were not full church-members, as women could not be. This is worthy of Mahomet, and of the ancient Talmudic doctrine, according to which the concern of women with religion was of a secondary character, the men alone having a direct interest in it. Well, some such fable is invented to keep women silent and powerless in the government. And we women, who only punish our sons severely when they tell lies, allow the whole male community to perpetuate this lie, that a free government is a government of free men. And, oh! look at the anomalous conditions under which we now live and move. There are women ministers, accepted, educated, anointed. The pulpit cannot be denied to them,—they may preach about public morality; they cannot vote for the measures which promote it. There are women lawyers. They cannot be excluded from practice at the bar. They may study out and present the principles of justice; they can do nothing to enforce the recognition of these principles. Lastly and most largely, there are women physicians. They were derided once; they are honored now. They may uphold in private the laws of hygiene; they cannot lift a finger to enforce the following of these laws upon the officials intrusted with the care of the public health. Why did you ask me to write about the relation of women suffrage to all vital reforms? Give me something to study out that is not self-evident.

It is certainly quite important for us to think of questions in their distinctness, and without confusion either of issues or of methods. It is also important that we should apprehend the true relation of one question to another. My theme of to-day, the relation of woman suffrage to other

reforms, was given to me in so broad a sense as to compel me to seek its connections rather than its limitations. I recognize the fact that we can work for peace and for temperance, for social purity, for civil service reform, without calling ourselves suffragists. Many work for these causes to whom that name is almost abhorrent. And yet, I believe that the principle which is slowly bringing the political enfranchisement of women is identical with that which we recognize in the accepted measures which I have just named. It and they are only features of that better state of society towards which we are not drifting, but marching. The whole new Christian scheme holds together. Why have the doors of colleges been opened to women? For two reasons: because society has need of women of the highest education, and because all worthy men feel that it is shameful that one sex should keep for itself the most precious opportunities enjoyed by the race. Public opinion justifies this great advance, which cannot now be gone back from. And society is discovering more and more that it has neither the right nor yet the power to limit the intelligent efficiency of women in any direction in which their co-operation is needed. This lesson when fully learned will wipe out many an ancient wrong. It will double the moral resources of public life. It will remove the falseness of present relations, the mastery and the slavery which look back for their justification to the darkness of the ancient days, and the ignorance which St. Paul says that God winked at. The Christian dispensation which he preached openly commanded men everywhere to repent. But even this harsh word loses in the modern interpretation its gloom and bitterness. The old method said, "Repent, for hell is before you." The new gospel says, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

THE PRESIDENT. We have had present during the Council a very modest, quiet, gentle, and yet indomitable little woman, who has had the embarrassing and unenviable duty of tapping the bell. Now, she is to come under the rule, and no one will do it with more gracefulness or good will. While Rev. Anna H. Shaw (applause) speaks to us about God's women, she will set forth in herself an embodiment of the unique title she has chosen.

GOD'S WOMEN.

REV. ANNA H. SHAW. The subject, God's Women, was suggested to me by reading an article in a Chicago newspaper, in which a gentleman defined God's Women. It has always seemed to me very remarkable how clear the definitions of men are in regard to women, their duties, their privileges, their responsibilities, their relations to each other, to men, to government, and now to God; and while they have been elucidating them for years, we have been patiently listening.

The woman of the nineteenth century has taken to definition, and she

has come to the conclusion that it may be quite possible for a wo well as a man to comprehend the relations of women to each ot their homes, to the Church, to the State, and listen for the voice o themselves, to know what the relation of women to the Divine is believing this, no divine, whether he bears the name of Elder, D Priest, Bishop, or Pope, shall define for the woman of the twentie tury her right to be and to become all God makes it possible for be. (Applause.)

Every reform must pass through three stages of struggle. O passed through the first, and we have gotten clear beyond it. just at the end of the second stage, and in the dawn of the next will come the third stage upon us.

The first stage, through which every reform must pass, is that assertion that it is impossible, it is impracticable, it is ridiculo unthinkable; and they who begin in the beginnings of reform, an the question before the people, must stand and bear all the scorn, loneliness, all the "aloneness" of great reformers in great questio like the Lord Jesus Christ, they must learn to tread the wine-pres Womanhood has had its leaders, who have taken the stand and b scorn of it; and now you and I to-day are able to walk in a smoo to be welcomed by thousands, to be cheered for the sentiments fo they were scorned, and to be paid for doing that which they paid privilege of doing. (Applause.)

We have passed that stage. The second stage of every refor religious phase of it, the stage in which it must meet all the reared by religionists, by theologians, and by a class of people always afraid that religion born of God, emanating from God, and life of the world, will be overthrown by a few of God's simpl children; and these people fearing that God—I speak reverentl not be able to hold His own against a few, think they must sta defence of God and the great principle and soul-life of His Being our being. We have been passing through this stage for some tin have proved by the Bible that when God created man in the begi his own image, He created man, male and female man, and call name Adam, and to this male and female man, whom he calle He gave all things, and bade this man Adam, male and female, t all things, even the world, to themselves.

The race has believed all this time that Adam was Mr. Adam, Mrs. Adam at all. (Laughter.) Eve was not Mrs. Adam bec was the wife of Mr. Adam. She was no more Mrs. Adam bec was the wife of Mr. Adam than Adam was Mr. Adam because h husband of Mrs. Adam; not a bit. (Laughter.) They were ea and neither of them alone was Adam. They were Adam togeth

plause and laughter.) You can never have a male Adam or a female Adam. You must have a male and female Adam, and you have manhood and womanhood,—humanity.

The great divine who originated this subject for me was lecturing before an Institute of Sacred Theology in the city of Chicago. Before him was a class of students, male and female, and he was defining to the male students what they, the males, might permit the females to do. He says, "There are some things which women may be permitted to do." Now, we like that, don't we? Something that we may be permitted to do. "They may be permitted to dispense certain charities; they may be permitted to speak in prayer and class-meetings; they may be permitted to do certain lines of church-work. There are other things which women may not be permitted to do. Among the things which they may not be permitted to do is to hold high official relation to the Church, to become its ministers and to dispense its sacraments. These things women may not be permitted to do."

In referring to the relation of woman to the Church, he spoke of the argument, raised by many women, that it was the design of God that woman should be eligible to any position she could occupy. The women go to the Bible to prove their position, and the one woman upon whom we have all laid our claim and our boast, is that grand old woman who was able to cry out, in looking over Israel in its hours of peace, "There was trouble, there was dissension, there was unrest in Israel until I, Deborah, a mother in Israel, rose;" and we point to the fact that the judges of Israel were always understood by those people to be divinely selected for their position; and, being thus divinely selected, we cannot assume that any human being could have taken this position who was not recognized by the people at least to have been chosen by God, and, even with the authority of the Bishop back of it, we cannot assume that God did not know what He was doing when He chose Deborah to be a judge in Israel.

If the Bishop thinks God made a mistake, he will have to wait forever to correct it, for it is done, and we cannot go back of the record. This woman found a country greatly disturbed, a country where the judges had been taking bribes, a country where the people were utterly demoralized, where they dared not walk on their highways because of thieves and robbers, but were compelled to go secretly through cross-lots in order to get from city to city. During the forty years of her reign as judge of Israel the whole condition of things was revolutionized. We are told that she judged all the people in righteousness, and the people had peace for forty years. Just think of forty years of peace! We have never known such a period since that day. (Applause.) Now, then, this woman was not, we are told by the Bishop, God's woman. If, then, she was not

God's woman, whose woman was she? (Laughter.) And if God is not able to recognize His own, what will become of us at the last? We believe that this judge in Israel was divinely ordained for the work, because otherwise she could not have done her work so well.

This same divine tells us that Miriam was not God's woman either; that this woman was a sort of a something interpolated for the times of war and distress. All great souls are interpolated for great occasions when they are needed. (Applause.) And when God wants a certain thing done that he knows needs a woman to do it, he generally raises a woman and not a man for the position. (Laughter and applause.) The world needed a woman.

Here was the boy Moses, under the reigu of a man by whom he would have been put to death in his babyhood, but that the loving heart of his mother said, "He shall not die;" and she hid him away.

We are told that women have no reasoning powers. They are not able to arrive at logical conclusions. When I was studying theology a young man in my class in the same college who was arrayed, as they always are the first year, with a coat buttoned up high around the neck, and all that, said he thought it was his duty to warn me in the beginning. He said, "You are making a great mistake; God never intended woman to preach the gospel. God has so constructed the brain of a woman that she cannot give a correct and continuous exegesis of Scripture." Doesn't that sound like a first-year student? (Laughter.) "It may be," I said, "that God has constructed our brain so that we cannot give a correct and continuous exegesis of Scripture. But he has, at least, constructed our brain so that somewhere He found a place in it in which He has bestowed a large amount of gumption. Now, if we have not the power of exegetical ability, we have gumption enough, if we undertake to preach and preach our church empty, to get out of the pulpit and go into the pew." (Laughter and applause.) What a grand thing it would be for the church at large if the other sex had some of that kind of gumption! (Laughter and applause.)

There might not be so many Bishops, either. (Laughter.)

Now this woman, Miriam, we are told, is not God's woman. But see this little woman's gumption, how she gets around the young princess, and the mother-heart of the young princess goes out towards the baby! She was a woman, though she was a princess. See how shrewdly this little girl planned it so that the child's mother should become his nurse, and how, under the guidance and care of his mother, Moses was reared to become the leader of the people of Israel! You see that in all that transaction God did not need a man, and He did need a number of women; and He found women enough of the kind He wanted to do just the work that He wanted done. What more natural than that when

Moses, years after, led the people out from Egypt, there went by the side of the great leader his sister Miriam, and that they, with their other brother, became the united leaders of the children of Israel out from their bondage?

If God chose a woman to act in these cases, when the world needed a clear brain, a tender, affectionate, loving, motherly heart, a firm and determined will, and chose the woman to do it, and if when the people needed a leader to guide them out of bondage to freedom He chose a woman to be among the leading instruments of that great undertaking, who shall dare to say, be he layman or priest, that such a woman is not God's woman?

The Bishop says there are certain classes of women who are God's women. We want to know who they are, because then we can range ourselves on the right side. God's women, according to the Bishop, are "the Ruths, the Rachels, and the Marys."

Ruth was certainly a remarkable young woman, because she was absolutely devoted to her mother-in-law (great laughter and applause), and that takes a great woman. I shall never rise to say that a woman devoted to her mother-in-law is not God's woman. But then, Ruth had some peculiar ways of getting along in this world. I hardly think the Bishop would like to have some of us who are unmarried follow Ruth's method of securing a husband. I hardly think he would like us to follow her line of courtship; yet the only two things for which she is admired are a devotion to her mother-in-law and a peculiar method of obtaining a husband. These are perhaps two very good things in themselves, but we should hardly think they were of such importance to the race that such a woman should be especially held up as a type of God's woman.

Then there was Rachel. We know two or three things about Rachel. One is that she had such a high sense of the subserviency of woman to man that, while the lazy shepherds lay about, gazing at each other, and at the skies, and perhaps at her, she left them gazing while she went to the well and drew the water to water the flocks. That might be the Bishop's idea of God's woman, but it is hardly my idea of the proper division of labor between the sexes. I should prefer to let the Bishop draw the water while I gazed. There is another thing we know about Rachel,—that she was a very handsome woman. Every man and every woman likes to see a handsome woman; but I have heard it said that women are always jealous of each other's beauty, and always angry if anybody says anything about the beauty of another woman.

This gathering of women is certainly an exception to the rule, for we have been the proudest set of women you ever saw, because in the providence of God there has been gathered here with us in this Council such a magnificent band of beautiful young women of whom we are all proud,

and we glory in their beauty. Those of us who have passed our youth look at these young girls, not with envy, but with a little bit of pain in our hearts, and say, "If God had only made us that way, we would have been glad." We do rejoice in each other, and we are glad of a good-looking young woman. Rachel was so good looking that Jacob wanted to marry her, and he worked seven years for her. She must have been a very desirable woman for Jacob to give seven years' hard labor for her. Nowadays if a man courts for a few evenings he thinks it is plenty of time to spend on it. Jacob waited seven years and then got cheated out of the woman he wanted, and had to marry her oldest sister. Rachel, however, was a courageous woman, and he was a faithful man, so he waited seven years more. The only other thing I know about Rachel is that the Bible says she wept for her children because they were not. The inference is that you men may go on behaving, as you say you do, improperly in politics; that you may make the politics of this nation dark, damaging, and unclean; that at last you may have an unrighteous war, and then take our children and kill them on the battle-field, and all we have to do about it is to stay at home and weep for our children because they are not! We are to have nothing to say as to whether you shall kill them or not. All we are to have to do about it is to cry about it.

Would it not be infinitely better for the race if, instead of weeping for their children slain in battle or by the unrighteousness of cruel and wicked laws, women would rise in the dignity of their motherhood and demand that wars shall cease, and children shall be protected by law?

Then the Bishop tells us Mary was one of God's women. There are a number of Marys, and the Bishop does not designate which of them it was. If he means the Mary out of whom the seven devils were cast, I should agree with him, for when seven devils have been cast out of a woman she must be something of a saint. If it was the Mary who washed the feet of Christ and wiped them with the hairs of her head, in token of penitence, I again agree with him, for that kind of penitence shows us she had been lifted up very close to the Divine life.

There was the Mary who sat at the feet of the Lord learning theology of Him; and the only reproof the Lord ever gave a woman was not given to Mary, the theological student, but to Martha, the woman who worried about her house-work, and wanted Mary to give up theology and go into the kitchen and cook the dinner.

Then there was another Mary, and she is the Mary whom I have taken as my example in my profession. This was the Mary who stood by the tomb of the Lord, and there at the mouth of the open tomb she received the first divine commission from the Divine One Himself to go out into the world and preach the gospel of a risen Lord.

If it was the Mary who was his mother, the Bishop has brought for-

ward the wrong Mary to prove his case. What does the Bible tell us? In the fulness of time God needed for the world a Redeemer. How should He give the Redeemer to the world? He gave the Redeemer to the world by choosing out of the world a woman to become the mother of the Saviour of the race. God and a woman gave to the world its Redeemer.

Here are the Marys, two of whom were sinners. One was a woman who was a theological student learning at the feet of the Master. The other was the first divinely-commissioned preacher of the resurrection. One was the mother of the Lord, doing the greatest public work for the race that has ever been done in the world. I am glad the Bishop holds that women theological students are God's women; that women ministers are God's women; and that the woman who was the mother of the Saviour of the world was also God's woman. I believe they were; I believe that the Miriams and the Deborahs and the Vashtis were God's women too.

When I was a girl I read the Bible through in order to select from it the two people who were to be my hero and heroine through life. My hero was Caleb, my heroine Vashti. Vashti disobeyed her husband, and was driven from her palace because of it.

I selected Vashti from among them all because she did disobey her husband,—a woman away back in the centuries, who recognized the dictates of her own self-respect; a woman who refused to become the puppet of a king and of his drunken courtiers; a woman ready to give up a throne, a husband, and a kingdom rather than do an ignominious thing; such a woman is God's woman, husband or no husband. I wish the world were full of Vashtis to-day, standing by the right of their individual self-respect.

The concluding remarks of the Bishop were in relation to motherhood. He referred to that passage of Scripture which we have heard so much about in this discussion: "She shall be saved in childbirth." Most of us regard this passage of the Scripture as meaning that she shall be saved by the coming of the Child,—shall be saved by the birth of Jesus Christ. She shall be saved because Jesus Christ came into the world to save not man alone, but women also. Women shall be saved because of the coming of Him who is the Emancipator of the race, women included. Believing this, we think the discussion which has been raised upon this line is a mere makeshift; it has nothing to stand upon.

There are two things to be considered in relation to motherhood. We have heard that motherhood is the greatest crown of glory which a woman can wear. We answer, No; motherhood is not the greatest crown of glory which a woman can wear. Motherhood may even not be a crown of glory at all. It may become a crown of shame. It requires

that there shall be a something back of motherhood to define what motherhood shall be, and in this something back of motherhood lies that which may make it a crown of glory. The highest crown of glory which a woman can wear is not motherhood, it is *womanhood*,—true, noble, strong, healthy, spiritual womanhood; the daughter of the King, the child of God, equal with the Bishop or any man in the world. If the woman is first of all a woman, all things shall be to her a crown of glory, whether it be motherhood or spinsterhood. The mother-heart of woman, the mother-heart that reaches out to the race and finds a wrong and rights it, finds a broken heart and heals it, finds a blessed life ready to be broken and sustains it,—a woman instinct with mother-love, which is the expression of the Divine love; a woman who, finding any wrong, any weakness, any pain, any sorrow, anywhere in the world, reaches out her hand to right the wrong, to heal the pain, to comfort the suffering,—such a woman is God's woman. It matters not where she may be,—where she was born, under what skies she has lived, she is God's woman, and at the last she shall find her God. (Great applause.)

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1891.

Afternoon Session.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AFTER a solo by Mrs. Wanham, president of the first ladies' literary club in the United States, the opening prayer was offered by Rev. Amanda Deyo, of the National Peace Association.

THE PRESIDENT. The first speaker of the afternoon is Miss Mary F. Seymour, editor of the *Business Woman's Journal*, well known to us by her efficient work in reporting the International Council three years ago, and also the Council of to-day. Her subject is appropriate to her line in life,—"Occupations of Women to Date."

OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN TO DATE.

MARY F. SEYMOUR. The trite and somewhat hackneyed saying that there is nothing so successful as success has never been more forcibly illustrated than in the history of the industrial progress of women. Forty years ago there were only seven occupations open to them; to-day they are engaged in over four hundred. In some States of the Union every profession has thrown open its doors to women. In the city of Philadelphia, statistics show that women are actually engaged in every occupation in which men are employed.

In 1840, so great was the prejudice against women physicians, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to take a medical degree, found it impossible to hire a house in New York City, and was obliged to buy one before she could pursue her practice. A short time ago, in the same city, as the result of her successful work, the large and commodious building of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, just completed at a cost of nearly sixty-three thousand dollars, was opened to the inspection of the public, and bright-faced young women students escorted visitors through its histological and physiological laboratories and its other departments fitted up with every appliance for a first-class medical college.

In 1869 Mrs. Myra Bradwell, of Chicago, applied for admission to the bar, but her application was refused. She then, for twenty-two years, gratified her taste for law by editing the Chicago *Legal News*, a paper which is highly prized by members of the legal profession. A few months ago, on the court's own motion, every member of the Supreme Court acquiesced in granting a license to her upon the original motion.

Two years ago Mrs. Emily Kempin, who had graduated with high honor and received from the University of Zürich the degree of LL.D., applied for admission to the New York University. She was permitted to attend the lectures, but was not allowed to matriculate, on the ground that if she did so the way would be opened to other women.

In less than two years from the time first mentioned we find her arrayed in the long gown and black cap of the University of Zürich, not only instructing a law class of women in the New York University, but also on other occasions lecturing on the Roman law to male students of that time-honored institution.

A few years ago architecture was considered by many an unsuitable profession for women, but the success of Minerva Parker, Mary Tillinghast, Mrs. Kate J. Bethune, and others has so effectually proved the peculiar fitness of women to plan the home, that many of our leading architects are now seeking the assistance of women in the designing of the interior of the houses which they build.

The success of women as civil engineers would seem to be still more doubtful, and yet it is known that for years the sisters of J. Edgar Thomson, the great railroad king, worked by the side of their brother in their father's offices as civil engineers. In the office of the Surveyor-General at Denver, Colorado, not only are women employed in considerable numbers, but, with the exception of the heads of two departments, have held as high positions as any in the office. The compensation received in this office is three dollars a day for six hours' work.

The argument that nature has debarred women from success in any especial field has no longer any force, since one woman, at least, has made a success in every department of labor. This has been the case in some fields which the most radical would have admitted a few years ago were unsuited to women. For many years Middy Morgan, of the New York *Times*, has been acknowledged to be the finest stock reporter in the world. Mrs. Mary E. H. G. Dow has proved that a woman can be at the head of a horse-railroad company, and in one year by her successful management raise its dividends from five to eleven per cent. Other women have testified by their experience that a woman may be the successful president of a bank or a steam-railroad company, may manage a sugar plantation or a mine, or navigate a ship.

In no department of labor have women made a more signal success

than in that of journalism. There was a time when the average editor did not believe a newspaper woman capable of anything better than writing fashion articles and cooking recipes. Unhappily, this class of editors is not yet quite extinct, but we hope they are few. In the offices of all the larger dailies there are to be found women who are detailed not only to study matters of especial interest to their own sex, but to write political leaders, to investigate public abuse, and to travel around the world. In the office of the New York *World*, with the exception of sporting news, little, if any, distinction is made in the kind of duties assigned to the men and the women reporters.

Plucky Miss Elizabeth Jordan is sent at one time to a hospital to sit by the bedside of a dying consumptive in order that she may describe the last stages of that dreadful disease; at another, she receives instructions to start at once for the wilds of Pennsylvania, where she is compelled to ride with a strange guide for miles on the back of a mule and sleep at night in a miner's hut.

In a recent article on Women Journalists, by Foster Coates, editor of the *Mail and Express*, the statement is made that one of the best newspaper editors in New York is a woman.

The great search of the modern editor is for original ideas, and when he finds them teeming in the little head of a woman he never stops to measure the size of her brain or consider her sex, but gives them a hearty welcome.

The first newspaper in the world was edited by a woman. Who knows but the time may come when the greatest newspaper in the world will have at its head a woman?

To what is this marvellous increase in the opportunities of women due? First, to the success of individuals; secondly, to the work of women journalists who have made those successes known; and last, but chiefly, to the growing spirit of co-operation among women.

Women are learning to take a laudable pride in the successes of other women. It was this spirit which led the New Century Club of Philadelphia to employ Minerva Parker as the architect of their elegant new Club House, and the Isabella Association to select her design for the Isabella Pavilion, and many other women to place in her hands enough orders for cottages to keep her busy for six months.

Although women have for only a short time been producers, they have been for many years the chief consumers, and herein lies their power.

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order is Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood,—subject, "The Evolution of Woman in Literature." Mrs. Lockwood is vice-president of the National Press Club and commissioner at large for the World's Fair, appointed, I think, by the President. (Applause.)

THE EVOLUTION OF WOMAN IN LITERATURE.

MARY S. LOCKWOOD. Since the dawn of civilization every age has been marked by some new development of capacity, genius, or power. The evolutions that have been silently going on have produced epochs by which we mark the world's progress.

In that century when Rome had nearly conquered the world, when Roman senators and generals had more power than kings, when Grecian arts and literature were copied by the imperial Romans, when out of the spoils of this fair earth that city bedecked herself with riches untold, and her temples and palaces made glorious by the breath of art that was crystallized in other centuries and by other nations, and that had come to her not by heritage but by force, and when all these—her literature, her art, her grandeur—had made her the "Eternal City," and Rome was the mistress of the world, it was, after all, but a godless, brilliant age, an age that brought a Cleopatra upon the stage.

Cleopatra, the last of the line of Grecian sovereigns, a descendant of the Ptolemies, ascended the throne of Egypt when very young. Although Greece was politically ruined, the potent influence of her grand civilization was felt throughout the world, and Alexandria was the exponent of all her past magnificence. Here the young queen, at seventeen years of age, was left by her father's will joint heir of the Egyptian throne. She was Greek in every sense of the word. The mysteries that hang over old Egypt were also mysteries in the reigns of the Ptolemies, and, when Cleopatra looked upon the pyramids, they were as much a wonder to her as to us, and the secret of their birth was to her a miracle in stone, and nothing more.

Cleopatra was not only transcendently beautiful, but gifted with all intellectual accomplishments. What was there so remarkable in this woman of nineteen years that she could hold and inthrall the great Cæsar, a man engrossed with the cares of government and who had the world at his feet? At the age of twenty-eight she met Antony, a man burdened with the cares and duties of state. Over him she held the same inexorable power that she had over Cæsar. Was it because she came in pomp and glory, like the Queen of Sheba before Solomon, bringing gold and ornaments and precious gifts; or, like the beautiful Palmyrene Queen, Zenobia, in her pride, glory, and power, who yet did not hesitate to sacrifice her devoted minister, Longinus, to appease Aurelian? Was it because she revelled in banquets before Antony, like Queen Esther before Xerxes? Would this statesman and soldier have been enslaved so long had not this woman possessed wonderful intelligence? She was an educated woman. The languages of the world were at her tongue's end. She could talk with Greeks or Latins, Ethiopians or Jews, Arabians, Syrians,

Medes, or Persians. But, with all this, she had not honor. Her mysterious stealing away, with her ships, at Actium, deserting Antony, was in keeping with her treacherous deceit a little later. And since Antony was laid at her feet dying, the world has been left with but one thought, "I am dying, Egypt, dying."

> "Ah! no more amid the battle
> Shall my heart exulting swell;
> Isis and Osiris guard thee!
> Cleopatra—Rome—farewell!"

Right here lies the secret of this woman's downfall. She was the leader of a *pagan* society. History has handed down to us names of women without number of high intellectual culture who made for themselves a name in history. But what did they do for the masses? What did Queen Artemisia do? She erected a mausoleum to her husband, the king of Halicarnassus, which is one of the seven wonders of the world. Heparchia married a deformed and ugly Cynic that she might be endowed with learning and philosophy. Sappho invented a new measure in lyric poetry, and her image graced the money of her countrymen.

The names of illustrious women are legion on the pages of pagan records, and yet the condition of pagan women was unfavorable to the influences of civilization. Paganism held out no uplifting hand to the degraded, down-trodden women of antiquity. Their lives were spent in rustic obscurity. Their souls were cramped and frosted in the chilling atmosphere by which they were surrounded. If they were wronged and suffered, they accepted it. The sweet harmony and poetry of home life was never kindled in their breasts; hence they could not lose it. Shut the soul life out of woman and she goes through the world groping in darkness. All the better impulses are locked up in her icy heart. Therefore the women in paganism were without hope or joy or the sweet influences of divine attributes. There was no true friendship, no companionship, no education, no anticipation, no reaching out for a higher life.

It was after the Christian era that women were exalted to true and independent dignity, for in Christ "there is neither rich nor poor, bond nor free, *male* nor *female*."

The old pagan civilization became a dissolving view, and out of the mists and the fog arose woman in her glory: human friendships were dignified, society was crystallized by the reunion of cultivated women and gifted men. From the forests in the feudal ages arose a veneration for women, and the Gothic nation became exalted through their gallantry and devotion. It has been said that progress is not in leaps, but in continuity. It needed only the parting of the veil, the lifting of the mist-clouds that for four thousand years had shut out the vision of the beatitude of the Gar-

den of Eden, for woman to become again the star of worship, the guardian angel, the helpmeet of the world.

Upon this stage comes Paula, the friend of St. Jerome; a woman of great humanity, with charities unbounded; her palace the resort of scholars, statesmen, Christians; a woman of rare education,—a gifted woman revelling in intellectual treasures. There were no incongruities in this holy friendship: they were alike in taste, habits, and associations. And thus it came that Aspasia was the friend of Pericles, Cicero of Atticus, Heloise of Abelard.

Who is there that has written a line of poetry that will go singing through the ages, that has penned a sentence for the uplifting of humanity, that has caught the vanishing records of the world and photographed them for coming generations to read, but can trace the inspiration to the encouragement and appreciation of some cultivated friend!

History gives us but a meagre showing of women in the middle ages who had any voice in the world's work. And "the world has not travelled upward faster than the feet of her women have climbed the paths of progress." Before Elizabeth was on the throne of "Merrie England" the masses were uneducated. Only noblemen and priests had the divine right of acquiring knowledge. A nation without books or schools (or pen women!); no poetry, no history, no philosophy!

Under Elizabeth's auspices Frobisher penetrated to the Polar Sea, Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe, and Sir Walter Raleigh colonized Virginia. In her public life Elizabeth will compare well with any woman sovereign of the world: with Isabella of Spain, who, with all her grandeur and her virtues, favored the Inquisition; with Catherine de Médicis, who looked with pleasure on St. Bartholomew. She was the equal of Catherine II. of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Germany,—one the slave of passion, the other revelling in glory while the partition of Poland was going on. You know it was

> "In good Queen Bessie's glorious days,
> When Britain really ruled the waves,
> The House of Lords did nothing in particular,
> And did it very well!"

It was two hundred years after women began to reign in Europe as queens of society before they became renowned as literary women. In the eighteenth century a class of women arose that became famous as writers,—Madame de Staël, Hannah More, Miss Burney. Madame de Staël has the fame of being the most powerful writer of her age. George Sand perhaps approaches her nearest in fame. Napoleon said of her, "Her arrows would hit a man if he were seated on a rainbow."

Coming down to this century,—Woman's Century,—I could not, if I

would, enumerate the long list of literary women. The greatest novelist since Thackeray was a woman,—George Eliot; one of the greatest writers of political economy was a woman,—Harriet Martineau. What novel has ever surpassed "Uncle Tom's Cabin"? We hear no more sneering at intellectual women, or "blue stockings." The triune woman in her physical, mental, and social condition is marching forward to the music of this nineteenth century. When the brainy, grand, noble women of the world assembled here in this auditorium three years ago, the great forces of the world had crystallized a scene such as never had been seen before since the morning stars sang together.

When in the history of governments have legislators called upon women to work side by side with men until the Congress of the United States gave such a call to the women of America for help in the great World's Fair of 1892? Within the last week the women of America have been given a tract of land on the henceforth classic Potomac, whereon a Woman's Temple is to be erected. In what century have men risen to such delectable heights! Here will come together societies of every name and phase; women in literature, journalism, art, science, philanthropy, and patriotism, and these in unified force will crystallize into a body that in counsel, example, suggestion, and fact will be a holy benediction to that larger house on Capitol Hill, where legislation for women, good, bad, and indifferent, has been going on for a century.

We expect that the pen-women of this country, its authors, journalists, and writers of every hue, who are so grandly represented in this Council, who have caught the divine afflatus that has been growing brighter and brighter through the centuries, will stand shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart, ready to help on every high and noble work that is for the uplifting of humanity.

> "Their lever is the wand of art,
> Their fulcrum is the human heart,
> Whence all unfailing aid is."

Could the women of the early centuries have caught a glimpse down the ages, their souls would have rejoiced at the evolutions going on in which the latent poems that brooded in sorrow in their hearts would be scattered in joy to the nations of the earth by the heart and pen of other ages, when literature would be inspired and the life of letters dignified among women.

THE NATIONAL YOUNG LADIES' MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

CAROLINE S. THOMAS. In 1869 Miss Eliza R. Snow organized in Salt Lake City a local Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, having for its object the more perfect development of woman, physically, morally, intellectually, and spiritually. The organization was so successful that it

rapidly spread into every county, and to-day not only reaches every hamlet in Utah, but has branches in the surrounding Territories, in Canada, England, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand, and other remote countries. It numbers three hundred branches, with a total membership of eight thousand, each branch having its own board of officers. These branches are organized into thirty-three county associations, and these again are united into a Territorial or Central organization.

The local societies spend two hours each week in the study of English literature, history, physiology, civil government, music, and religious topics, varied with lectures by eminent physicians and other learned persons on scientific and literary subjects. The members are also required to write essays and deliver short lectures on these various topics. This is especially beneficial to those who have not been favored with educational advantages, as membership is not confined to the educated, but the benefits are intended for all classes.

Once a month these local societies meet with a similar organization of young men, and they unite in literary and musical exercises suitable for such a gathering. Once in three months the County Board calls a council of delegates and members from every local association, in which council are discussed matters of interest and moment, with the hearing of verbal and the reading of carefully prepared statistical and financial reports of each organization. Once in six months these county officers are called to assist in a grand Central Council, held for the purpose of hearing county statistical reports, and presenting suggestions, plans, and subjects for the general good of the members and officers. Voting for officers is also regularly attended to in all of these councils. The whole machinery of this movement is conducted solely by young women, without the shadow of interference from other societies or from men.

The weekly essays have evolved themselves into a magazine for the more perfect cultivation of the literary talent of the young ladies, which, though still in its infancy, promises to become a permanent and creditable journal, and a powerful advocate of woman's cause.

The aim of the leaders of this movement has been to cultivate every gift and grace of true womanhood, recognizing the fact that it is not the outward appearance but the forces which gather within the soul that go to develop the individual. To this end every effort is made to induce independent thought, study, individuality, and progress. Great stress is laid upon the physical well-being of woman. One lesson of paramount importance is constantly impressed upon the growing and plastic minds of our fair young girls,—viz., that, while their duty is to cultivate every intellectual gift or power they possess, that they may be the proud equals of the men who shall become their companions, it is their right to demand from them the same innocence and purity of mind, of speech, of body,

and of soul, as are their own. It is but just to add that this right is never questioned, and they go happily on to fulfil their life mission.

No religious test has ever been applied to these organizations. Good behavior is the only membership fee paid, while love and progress may be termed the current coin of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association.

THE PRESIDENT. We have next "The National Relief Society," represented by Mrs. J. H. Richards and Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, of Utah. They will divide the time allotted to them according to their preference.

MRS. JANE RICHARDS. I have the honor to represent Utah, and I feel thankful for the opportunity to-day to be here on our platform, and it seems to me, by the sentiment of all that have either read or spoken, that it is love and good-will and peace and joy to be extended to all. That is what I believe in; that is what the twenty-five thousand women that I come to represent to-day are working for.

I am thankful to know that we have so many sisters that are feeling just as we are in many respects. We may differ in opinion in some things, but our great aim is to do good to all. I feel gratified that I have had the privilege of listening to many speeches and papers that have been read here in this Council. I should be pleased to answer any questions, or to give any of our papers that state what we believe in, how we feel, and what we are doing.

THE PRESIDENT. We will now listen to Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, editor of the *Woman's Exponent*, Salt Lake City, Utah.

THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

EMMELINE B. WELLS. The Woman's Relief Society, with headquarters in Utah and branches in adjoining States and Territories, has had nearly half a century of life and earnest work. Though operating in a sparsely settled country and far removed from the peculiar miseries known to large cities, the society has had a vast field for its operations, since the early poverty and privation of the people, with the consequent demands upon the time and resources of men, have left domestic charity almost exclusively to women.

The general officers of the central organization are Zina D. H. Young, president; Jane Richards, first counsellor; Bathseba W. Smith, second counsellor; Sarah M. Kimball, secretary; Romania B. Pratt, assistant secretary; M. Isabella Horne, treasurer; and Emmeline B. Wells, corresponding secretary. A branch of the society exists in nearly every village of Utah and the surrounding region, also in several of the other States of the Union, and in Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand, and other foreign countries, each local

branch having its board of officers to correspond with the general organization. Frequent conferences keep alive the unity of the society and insure the efficient system of its labors. There are more than four hundred of these branches, with a total membership of about twenty-five thousand persons.

More than one hundred thousand dollars' worth of real estate, consisting of halls, storehouses, granaries, etc., is owned by the organization. It has on hand the following resources to be drawn upon for charities and relief work: Fifty thousand bushels of wheat; twenty thousand dollars' worth of other property, consisting of produce, clothing, household goods, etc.; and fifteen thousand dollars in cash. As fast as these resources are consumed, they are replenished by the contributions of members. The society maintains a large hospital, the chief physician of which is Mrs. Dr. Pratt, a graduate of Eastern medical schools and a prominent member of the society. Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells edits and publishes the *Woman's Exponent*, which is the recognized organ of the association. All the work upon the paper except the presswork is done by women.

Primarily, and as its name implies, the Woman's Relief Society is an organization for the purpose of benevolent work. To this end, it seeks out the sick and needy, without regard to creed, and ministers to their wants. It provides food, clothing, and shelter for the destitute, and gives nurses to the sick. It provides safe employment for worthy women, and supplies good homes, raiment, and education to impoverished orphans. It is an active worker in the cause of temperance and an uncompromising foe to the dram-shop and the liquor-dealer. In the success of its benevolent and temperance labors, it has gone beyond any limited sphere and has accomplished notable results for the general elevation of woman. For instance, it has trained a large number of its members in business methods, preparing them, through society responsibilities, to carry private business cares, should circumstances lay such burden upon them. It has taught them what wonderful power and influence for good are acquired by the united movement of women in a community. Under the superb system of organization and solidity in vogue, the society's members have learned that they can grapple successfully with all the ordinary destitution which appeals for relief, and can accumulate means by which the society's usefulness, strength, and independence are constantly augmenting. Its meetings have been a good training-school for public speaking.

The society furnished a common rallying-ground for the women of Utah when they had the franchise, and insured a solid vote of women in favor of public honor and economy and such private morality as can be fostered by wise and honest local administration of government. When the happy day dawns upon Utah that will restore the political rights which were so inconsiderately taken from our sex by Congressional enact-

ment, it will be found that the Relief Society can furnish a body of intelligent voters, who, by experience in business affairs and observation of the wants of humanity, are as well fitted to wield the ballot as any other citizens of the Republic.

Whatever may be woman's destiny in politics and professional life, there is one realm in which her sovereignty will remain forever undisputed,—the realm of unselfish benevolence, the true charity which extends daily relief to suffering humanity, without seeking plaudits or outside recognition. This has been the work of our Woman's Relief Society, and such will continue to be its divine mission. We hail with joy the great National Council of Women, and desire to unite with them in all that tends to elevate our sex and advance the human race.

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order is "The National Protective Agency for Women and Children," represented by Mrs. Caroline M. Brown, formerly of Chicago, and president of our woman's club there, now living in Virginia for the education of her children at the University.

PROTECTIVE AGENCY FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

CAROLINE M. BROWN. Six years ago the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* published a list of the crimes committed upon women and children within a certain number of months, with some account of the grossly inadequate punishment inflicted upon the dastardly criminals, and an appeal to the community to come to the rescue and protect the innocent and helpless. A meeting was called by the Moral Education Society to consider the matter. One lady, through the columns of the *Inter-Ocean*, offered five hundred dollars for the cause. Representatives of the Humane Society, the W. C. T. Union, the Woman's Club, and other leading organizations of women in Chicago took counsel together, and the result was the establishment in Chicago of the First Protective Agency for Women and Children.

Through this Agency we try to secure justice for women and children in the courts; to protect them from crimes against their persons, and from wrongs of a financial character, such as the withholding of wages, exaction of exorbitant interest, or violation of contract. We investigate and expose fraudulent advertisements. We try to enforce existing laws in behalf of women, and to procure the enactment of better ones. We give advice and help and moral support to the wronged and helpless.

In our first year, 1886–1887, we had one hundred and fifty-six cases brought to us; last year there were sixteen hundred and fourteen. The range of our work is as wide as human misery and injustice. Our first effort, five years ago, when we began, was to release from the county jail a woman who had been confined there nearly a year by a son-in-law, for alleged slander, upon a judgment of five thousand dollars damages, which

she must pay before she could be released. There was no one to fere, and she did not know what to do, but we brought a writ of *corpus* which took her out of the bad man's power.

The law's delays are proverbial, but occasionally *in*justice is met by the criminal court in a manner so summary as to take one's away. On the 19th of June, 1888, Nancy Harris, with her son and all respectable and honest colored people, came from Atlanta, Geo Chicago. The sister felt herself rich with one hundred and forty but Nancy got a place as a family servant. Too simple-minded to what she deemed the wealth of her sister, poor Nancy soon fell a vi the cupidity of her employers, who laid a trap, accused her of thirty-five dollars, beat her with a rolling-pin, had both women a and all the money taken from them. The case was railroaded thro courts, and on the 5th of July Nancy was sent to the penitentiary a a little over two weeks from the day she first set foot in Chicag one hundred and forty dollars probably paid the pretended deb good round fee to the assisting constable. Would that our bood anarchists could be so promptly cared for! We took a writ of the Supreme Court, and showed that there was absolutely *no* against Nancy. When the case was tried in the criminal court, sh lawyer to defend her, and the judge had appointed one of the p that hang around the lower courts hoping for a case. This man take the trouble to inquire into the facts, but advised Nancy to th self on the mercy of the court. She did not know that this was to herself guilty and invite sentence. The facts were shown to the Court, the sentence of the lower court was reversed, and Nancy from the penitentiary. The case was thus left exactly as if no t taken place, and the State's attorney could begin all over again; Supreme Court, seeing the entire lack of evidence against the recommended the State's attorney to strike the case off the calenda he did. Poor Nancy could never have done this alone. We c hundreds of cases, differing in particulars but alike in this, that the were practically as helpless.

When we come to the blackest and worst of crimes committed little children and young girls,—those foul wrongs which ought together in righteous indignation judge and jury, police and law follow up and punish so adequately as to strike terror to the heart men everywhere,—you will find it hard to believe me when I tell these crimes receive the lightest punishments on the statute-book, at all. Police justices often refuse to send these complaints up to t jury, although it is their duty to do so. They change the charge t disorderly conduct, and impose a trifling fine or discharge the vill gether. If you were to follow one of these sad cases through th

court, with all its delays and changes of venue, up to the grand jury, and then through the tortuous mazes of the criminal court, with its offensive publicity and scurrilous cross-examination, you would feel that the machinery of justice was all set in motion to defend the guilty and browbeat the innocent.

The Agency has secured the conviction and punishment of many guilty men and conniving women, and has exercised a wholesome influence in raising public opinion at the criminal bar, so that these cases are no longer dismissed as of trifling import. So far as I know, no other association exists having this object. Many others will collect debts, or try to reclaim unfortunate women. I have never heard of another that aims to make life safer for good women.

Besides the help given to individuals, the Agency has, in the four years of its existence, accomplished these things:

First, it has induced the judges of our courts to exercise greater care in recommending candidates for police justices, who preside at the only tribunal known to the great mass of minor criminals and complainants.

Second, we have procured the passage of a law providing that chattel mortgages on mechanics' tools, wearing-apparel, and household goods shall be foreclosed only in a court of record (July 1, 1889). Hitherto the creditor has foreclosed in the simplest manner, by seizing the goods and charging for constable's fees whatever he pleased.

In one case a furniture man so'd goods for fifty-six dollars and received payments amounting to fifty-two dollars. Then one morning, while his customer, a widow, was at the breakfast-table, he came and took all the furniture, including the cooking-stove, to satisfy his claim of four dollars. One of our learned Masters in Chancery held that, unless the creditor *sold* the mortgaged goods, he was not accountable to the debtor for the difference between the amount of his claim and the value of the goods, so that the man I have just mentioned could keep the fifty-six dollars' worth of goods for his four-dollar debt, without paying anything back to the poor woman, unless he sold the furniture, which nobody could oblige him to do.

Since our law went into effect, July 1, 1889, there must be an accounting; all costs are scrutinized by the chancellor, and the poor debtor is certain to receive the surplus after all fair charges are paid.

Third, we have, in connection with others interested, had the age of protection for little girls in Illinois raised by law from ten to fourteen years.

The best way to discover and demonstrate the inadequacy of any law is to see that it is stringently enforced. Only then can you be sure of the points that need amendment. This is our first effort. Such laws as we possess we endeavor to enforce. In this way we draw attention, for in-

stance, to the fact that, if your child is kidnapped the offender goes to prison for a year, but if your horse is stolen the thief gets three years.

Perhaps the most valuable work we have done in the community has been that of educating the public to see the many wrongs endured by women and children in our courts of law where they should be protected. The senior judge of our Circuit Court, Judge Taley, states deliberately that "nowhere is woman so helpless as in a court of justice, and nowhere does she so much need the assistance and recognition of her sex."

I have dwelt on the work of our Chicago branch because I am more familiar with it and because it has been longest established. Other societies with similar aims have since been started in other cities. And together we have formed a National Agency, whose object is to help in establishing other Agencies in all the large towns and cities of the Union. The next meeting of this National Agency will be in May, 1892, at Chicago, and we hope that the work will grow in favor wherever there are pure men and brave women.

THE JOURNALISTIC OUTLOOK.*

LILLIAN WHITING. The assumption that journalism, the greatest of modern forces, is a matter of art and of ethics, and that these are the prime factors to be considered in the outlook of press work, is one that I venture to believe will be conceded by this National Congress of Women, assembled to deliberate on the great problems of contemporary life. The finer civilization in which we are beginning to live, and which is at once the cause and the effect of these finer forces, demands artistic form and ethical purpose as the factors of every permanent achievement.

In no expression of life is this fact more clearly shown than in journalism. For, indeed, when we come to scrutinize this all-pervasive force, this marvellous influence which, by remoulding and directing the individual, is shaping the national destiny, we see its claim is that of life itself, and we recognize that newspapers have souls, whatever may be said of corporations. The newspaper is not only the contemporary, but it is the magic mirror, turned forward, and it shows us not only what is, but what should be. The actual and the ideal meet in its pages. There is a very mistaken notion sometimes entertained by persons who are, or who believe themselves to be, "literary,"—and thus of a finer clay than the journalist,—that the minimum of newspaper reading and the maximum of that in books is the predestined path to glory, and that this proportion of the two ingredients promotes that state which they are pleased to call "culture."

Good books are reservoirs from which to draw, but because one is

* This paper was not read at the Council, owing to the absence of Miss Whiting.

familiar with the psychological problems that tortured Hamlet, or the circles that Dante saw, is no absolute assurance that he will be able to cast an intelligent vote if he is not on familiar terms with the daily press. To say that one does not gain in intellectual strength and moral poise by being on familiar terms with the best ancient and modern classics, would be manifestly untrue, but to say that even the greatest literature of the past can wholly supply the needs of to-day is equally remote from the truth. The fact is that the modern newspaper is the true "heir of all the ages." Like Bacon, it has taken all knowledge to be its province. Our leading daily papers are cosmopolitan in their affluence of knowledge. All foreign movements, diplomacy, religion, and society are reflected each day in their pages; every new invention, every great discovery or new theory in science, every great achievement in art or literature, our own political life, contemporary biography, criticism and imaginative literature, besides all that daily miscellany vaguely denominated the "news," are given semi-daily; and the vast enterprise and energy, the discrimination in intellectual values and the moral purpose controlling this gigantic and complicated profession, may certainly merit the serious attention of an intelligent and thoughtful association of representative women.

To read the daily newspaper is to have an admission-ticket to the entire panorama of the world. Foreign and domestic movements, literary creations, criticism, correspondence, and editorial deliberations make up the ideal journal whose reading is in itself a liberal education. Mr. John Morley says that the supreme object of all acquirement is to make good citizens. How can a man be a good citizen who has neither knowledge of current affairs nor interest in their tendency?

> "And, for success, I ask no more than this,
> To bear unflinching witness to the truth."

What can we say of success in life—that noble success which is not merely that of personal gain, but of general advancement—that is truer than these words? And how can one "bear unflinching witness to the truth" who knows little and cares less what the truth of to-day is to us?

> "The world advances, and in time outgrows
> The laws that in our fathers' day were best.
> No man is born into the world
> Whose work was not born with him."

The men whose lives are most valuable are they who relate themselves to the needs of the age in which they live. The end of literature is not a book, but a life. Books are helps, are means, but not an end. Our magazines are really giving us much of the finest literature of the present age, and to a great degree the leading newspapers fulfil the same high

endeavor. The periodical publications reflect the life and thought and currents of the age; and it is impossible for one who is ignorant of these tendencies to live wisely or well.

A newspaper must always be an affair of business and not of sentiment; and still is there that in its nature and tendencies which constantly introduces higher motives than financial gain alone. Its very responsibility educates the moral sense of those who contribute to its forces. It is a law of ethics that the more one feels the interdependence, the subtle relations of humanity, the more scrupulously will he endeavor to repress in himself all selfish and unworthy tendencies, and stimulate to a higher growth his better impulses and truer recognitions.

The action and reaction of human life, in its multitudinous phases, that affect and are affected by the daily newspaper, are determined by these invisible and often unanalyzed currents. It thus goes without saying that the conduct of a standard journal is neither bought nor sold; that it is the expression of earnest conviction,—fallible, it may be, since editors and proprietors share the usual fallibility of mortals, but, at all events, it is sincere.

The dignity of the journalistic profession would be still further elevated by the establishment of special schools or professorships. They would give this profession, equally with theology, law, and medicine, the prestige of university recognition. Here is a work requiring not only special talent of a high order, but technical discipline, wide general information, fertility of resource, and choice diction. With all these, it also requires what is almost a sixth sense,—the mental habit of keen analysis and swift combination. While these qualities are, in their perfection, largely the result of experience, they must also spring from original gifts. The journalist, like the poet, is born, and not made, yet being born, he must also proceed to make himself by every resource of learning, every gift and grace of culture and of life.

Pythagoras required his pupils to divest themselves entirely of their egotism before entering his classes. Journalism's requirement of her votaries is not unlike that of the ancient sage. The crudest reporter who understands his work can teach the untried university man much that is worth knowing. The available, versatile genius is the sixth sense required, and it is in journalism what the magnetic fluid is in physics. An earnest purpose conquers all obstacles.

"If a god wishes to ride," said Emerson, "every chip and stone will bud and shoot out winged feet for his use." The discipline of reportorial work is invaluable, but not until one has passed through and beyond it does he begin to realize its incalculable importance in the versatility, the flexibility of diction, and the swift power of receiving impressions, that it imparts. There is also a vast store of material to be laid up, as private intel-

lectual capital, in reportorial work. One gets studies of human nature, insights into character, panoramic glimpses of social progress, that no other form of work offers. Our best novelists have evolved from this phase of work some of their choicest and most vital material. Dickens found his characters and his graphic pictures of London life when serving as a reporter for a morning paper. The ideal reporter should be the interpreter of people and events. He must go sympathetically to the work. He must respond to its best elements, to that soul of things which is found in every combination of human affairs. While he should strive for accuracy, let it be rather the ideal than the harshly realistic accuracy; give people and their doings the advantage of the best light, of the largest and most liberal construction.

The vocation of literary journalism is one beginning to be widely recognized as offering an important field for usefulness; as one that is especially educative to its followers, congenial to the individual of literary tastes, and which has the advantage over magazine contributing or bookmaking in furnishing an immediate support by means of a definite weekly salary. The one important article of faith for the literary journalist is to believe, with the utmost depth of conviction, that there is nothing too good for the daily newspaper, and the one anxiety is to secure that which is good enough for it. The influence the press exerts on the lives of the American people is simply incalculable. The daily newspaper is a mill whose constant grist must be supplied. It is constantly demanding an advance of quality in the matter it publishes. Its work is, for the class, permanent; for the individual, often, though by no means always, transient. A competent newspaper writer will never, it is safe to say, lack for good work and sure pay. All true workers live for something higher than greed, or getting, or gain, and for every privilege there is a corresponding duty. Editorial work presupposes acquirement, ready knowledge, and all the culture one should have grown to. There is then no time for library research. The journalist must not only have knowledge, but that knowledge must be instantly available.

The personal qualities that make one a favorite guest in the drawing-room are not less indispensable in the newspaper office,—the same sweetness of spirit, refinement, tact, and sympathetic comprehension, with the added obligation of energy and reliability. Opportunities correspond with almost mathematical accuracy to the ability for using them. Fitness for any work creates its own theatre of action. That eternal vigilance which is the price of success will exact of the journalist three essentials,—good health, constant literary study, and study of life. Health is more largely a mental and moral as well as a physical condition than we altogether realize, and it has a very intimate connection with good sleep. However other people live, the journalist must live for his art, and live the

life of the artist. If the writer conceives of journalism only in the light of the caricature of itself,—as the mere writing of personal events, fashion-notes, and light gossip,—it will matter less out of what condition of mind or body they are written; if he desire a wide outlook, earnest thought, and elevated purpose, it matters very greatly.

Again, there is the duty of reading: not alone the pleasure of it, but the absolute duty, is an important consideration for one who would succeed in journalism. Libraries are those unfailing fountains to which one goes to be filled. Reading is indeed to the mind as is food to the body,—the material of which its fibre is made. It is surprising to note the difference in the quality of mental thought which even one half-hour's good reading each day will make; and to the man who has voluntarily entered journalism as a profession, and assumed the responsibility of certain work, it is a matter of ethics to keep himself in mental condition to respond to the work and fulfil its demands.

There is also the importance of keeping in touch with life. No exclusive bookworm can ever be a successful journalist. If press work is anything it is vital, and the successful conductor of it must be alive, and feel alive to his finger-tips, and keep in the currents of affairs. There is a centripetal tendency in work on the daily newspapers which he who would command the situation must counteract by excursions without; by dipping into new atmospheres, and seeing life under new skies. To touch life at all points, to touch it with some perception of its ideal possibilities and of its actual realizations, and to hold the golden mean of fidelity to noble standards and charity for imperfect results is the education in that experience which makes wisdom.

There is a phase of journalism that is curiously entangling itself of late with literary journalism,—the personal element. If the modern Sappho publish a book of poems to-day, the world inquires to-morrow regarding her local habitation and her name, her tastes, her acquirements, and, perhaps, the number of the glove she wears. Personal publicity seems in many instances the penalty of literary work, and to the writer of genuine dignity and refinement it is a trial to be endured rather than a distinction to be sought. The personal element in journalism, either literary or political, is by no means always to be deprecated. It is a vital element, and, alas, a dangerous one. In this, considered in its large inclusiveness, lie both the strength and the weakness, the uplifting and the corrupting force. Personal journalism is too often a phrase accepted in its narrowest significance and most frivolous possibilities, but this is not its true scope. What, indeed, is all biography, and to a great degree all history, but personal writing? What makes the charm of the novel save personal interests dramatically presented? National and international politics take their color and their importance from the personalities of the men who are the

prime movers, and, since the world in general is made for men and women and is made by them, the personal element cannot be eliminated from that which is the expression of a people's life,—its journalism. That it is sometimes degrading and corrupting, and should be eliminated, is true; and it is also true that there is already a perceptible tendency in this direction.

Journalistic reputation is good, but journalistic character is better. Its success is, after all, but the fine inflorescence of life, which is the fruit which many conditions go to perfect. Temperament, the power of sympathetic assimilation, versatile availability, sweetness of spirit, the faculty to live harmoniously in the atmosphere of a newspaper office, which is a world of itself, and professional enthusiasm—all these are indispensable factors in success, and without these qualifications the mere ability to write acceptably will never make a professional journalist.

Journalism should be truthful. It should insist that shams are not entitled to public confidence and support; it should insist, even at the risk of being held unsympathetic and unkind, that the writer who needs or desires to do remunerative work shall enter on it by honest and legitimate effort.

The requirements of literary journalism, measured by its ideal standard, are far greater than those required for the irregular production of specific literary contributions to periodicals. The literary journalist must perforce take all knowledge for his province to a great degree. His ideal work implies behind it the endeavor to realize noble ideals of life. No great and permanent work comes out of narrow and trivial life.

The degree of achievement in literary journalism will be determined more by the individual inclinations, aspirations, and ideals of the journalist, than by the time, place, or circumstances of outer life. For it is one of the eternal laws that the real life—that which is permanent and determining—depends little on external scenery. The spirit fashions its own world, regardless of visible correspondence between its inner visions of beauty and its actual environment of limitations or even deprivations. Fortunately, poverty of the purse does not necessarily produce poverty of the spirit. Life may be so hedged in by circumstances as to be narrow, but may always be deep and high. And it is depth that gives enduring power, and it is height that affords an outlook.

The literary department of a well-conducted paper should unite the qualities of news giving, of current comment, of wise selection, and of conscientious criticism. These factors should blend into a unity, and to insure this the literary editor must be the supreme head of this department. Its responsibility must be both realized and accepted: not accepted in the spirit of dictatorship, not held as a lever for personal aggrandizement, but accepted in its twofold restriction of responsibility

to the journal as a whole, and to the reading public. The reviewer of a book is responsible for his expressions on it to the author, the publisher, to his own journal, and to the reading public. He is constrained by an unwritten law to be just, and also to be interesting. He must measure the book in relation to the author's own ideal—note to what degree this is realized—and also measure it in its relation to general literature and the particular demands of the time. All publications fall into two general divisions,—those of transient and those of permanent interest. It is manifestly unfair to require that every poet shall be a Browning or a Tennyson, every novelist a George Sand or a George Eliot, every historian a Macaulay or a Greene, or every essayist a Carlyle, an Arnold, a Lowell, a Whipple, or an Emerson.

Perhaps the one most important aspect of the journalistic outlook is that the journalist should realize his responsibility to the public trust. There may be a conspicuous effacement and ignoring of self that is not true humility, but is more like egoism; there may be a consciousness of self that hinders usefulness. Between these extremes he must strive for that degree which becomes unconscious of ambition for mere personal aggrandizement, but which counts ambition as worthy when used as a means to bring his message to the hour and the time. Archdeacon Farrar recently said that the remedy for our social difficulties is to be found "in the manly and heroic determination of all good men, whatever may be their position, that, so far as they are concerned, no effort shall be left untried which seems to offer the least chance of improving the conditions of our national life, and raising strong hands to bring heaven a little nearer to this our earth." Canon Farrar dwells on the individual responsibility in this struggle against vice and misery, and refers to the example of the Grecian soldiers, who, as related by Greek historians, thought in a decisive battle that unless they were individually fighting the great cause would be lost. There is a suggestion in this well worthy the consideration of the journalist.

Before such a body as the Woman's National Council, I do not fear that it will be regarded as any merely vague transcendentalism to affirm that there is no more potent power that can be brought to act on what we are accustomed to call practical affairs than to spiritualize the present. We are spirits now, and living in a spiritual world, even though the spirit must act through this instrument, the body, and must deal with material agencies; and it is keeping this truth in mind that will enable us to act in accordance with spiritual laws. Instead of giving our work grudgingly, let us give joyfully, realizing that it is an opportunity for eternal investment. The result of the noblest form of spiritual endeavor is the creation of spiritual energy, and this energy is the infinite force which transforms life, which transmutes its crude materiality into the form that most satisfies

our longings; it is, in short, the force that opens the successive gateways of life.

Emerson says that life is a search after power, but the search is for that most potent form of power, spiritual energy. "To attempt art," said an English essayist recently, "to attempt to give any expression of life which shall be worthy of the name, is a very serious matter. . . . Art is more exacting than mere life. . . . Without serious thought behind it —a serious habit of thought—talent, of which the world is full, lowers to the merest monkey trick of the imagination, a thing pliable to fashion, at once reigning over and dependent upon the idlest whims of the day." The art of journalism is certainly serious, while it has also, as all noble seriousness has, great possibilities of joy and exhilaration in it. Its pursuit is the quest of all that is most ennobling and permanent. Its spirit is—as Charlotte Cushman remarked of her own art—always to keep the prow turned toward good. And whether the journalist leave behind him that name which men call fame, is of little matter, if only he set in motion a new train of activities toward that divine life to which all humanity is tending:

"It may be glorious to write
Thoughts that shall glad the two or three
High souls, like those far stars that come in sight
Once in a century:

"But better far it is to speak
One simple word, which now and then
Shall waken their free nature in the weak
And friendless sons of men:

"To write some earnest verse or line,
Which, seeking not the praise of art,
Shall make a clearer faith and manhood shine
In the untutored heart.

"He who doth this, in verse or prose,
May be forgotten in his day,
But surely shall be crowned at last with those
Who live and speak for aye."

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Antoinette Van Housen Wakeman, of the Chicago *Post*, one of our leading journalists, will read a paper on the subject, "What do the Signs of the Times Signify?"

WHAT DO THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES SIGNIFY?

ANTOINETTE VAN HOUSEN WAKEMAN. When I asked my learned friend, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, of Chicago, what she thought of speaking on "What do the Signs of the Times Signify?" at the Woman's National Council soon to convene at Washington, she made answer, "If you had unlimited time in which to prepare such a paper, and could com-

mand the attention of the ladies for a day and an evening, stopping only," she interpolated, smiling, "for refreshments, I should approve of your subject. The truth is, it is too comprehensive. One division of it is quite sufficient for the discussion you propose."

However, there are both distinctions and differences. My friend's profession and her habit of mind lead her to be as exact and exhaustive in all she undertakes as was the late genre master-miniaturist Meissonier. My profession, on the other hand, leaving out of the question my habit of mind, compels a complete, quick survey, a summary of which must be limned swiftly and suggestively. In the office of a daily newspaper, one in the very nature of things learns to consider entity and the relation of parts to the whole. In the midst of an every-day account of all that is of interest in every part of the world, to catch results which have their sources in many and widely-diversified causes, before they have fairly appeared above the horizon of events, is in the fraternity scarcely considered an achievement, it is so much a matter of course. As this has been my training, I beg you be not alarmed lest, because of the all-embracing scope of the subject to which I invite your attention, I should unduly detain you. I shall present an outline only.

What are some of the signs of the times? One, that is of great import, is the world-wide tendency to organized efforts. What does this mean? Looking along the dim line of prehistoric times, it is easy to discern that organization is the theme of the majestic harmony of creation. The history of the evolution of life is the history of the development of subjective organization. The history of man's higher development, which we call civilization, is the record of the objective organization which we will briefly consider.

The first authentic record which we have of organization is that which tells of the centralized Egyptian monarchy two thousand seven hundred years before Christ. It was while this organized government existed that those marvels of construction, the Pyramids, were builded. Truly, organization at this time was but the massing and directing of naked human strength, but, from that far-away period until the present time, the record of events incontrovertibly demonstrates that organization has been the strong, uplifting power that has moved the world. To be sure, as it was with the first republic which had its rise on the peninsula and islands lying within the embrace of the blue waters of the Ægean and Ionian Seas, organizations have developed and disintegrated, leaving seemingly little or nothing of permanent value behind them. It is common to typify this development and decay of civilization by the swaying of a pendulum. But evil it would be if this were true, and—how hopeless! Following with close scrutiny the subtle sequence of events, we find that neither the eighteen centuries that have passed since the coming of Christ nor yet the

thousands of years preceding them were barren repetitions and sterile strivings. It has not been the pendulum swaying ever and always back to the point from which it started, but the spiral, which while returning to the same relative point is at each return one step higher.

Never in the history of the world was there a time so crowded with achievements as is the present. These achievements without an exception are made a part of the world's every-day activity by means of organization. There is a strong prejudice against combination; however, it is a prejudice not warranted by facts. Many of us here present can dimly remember when the inventor had but just placed in the hands of feeble, newly-born organizations the most wonderful discoveries the world has yet known; when steamboats and steam-carriages were making their imperfect attempts at locomotion; when electricity was just beginning to transmit thought with lightning speed across continents and the oceans which divide them. More readily can we call to mind the first imperfect service of these marvellous servants of man. We can also recall the perturbation which was caused by the first movement for the consolidation of independent railroads into great trunk lines. However, as we know, cheaper, safer, and more frequent service to the public has been the result. And not only this, but all grades of those employed receive better wages and are more intelligent and more trustworthy people than before this consolidation.

When the telegraph-lines now known as the Western Union were consolidated, the danger-signal was flaunted. However, the undeniable fact is that before the existence of this "terrible octopus" we enjoyed the privilege of paying two dollars for telegraphing ten words from Chicago to New York. The equally decried Standard Oil Company has, according to an editorial statement in the New York *Tribune* of May 15, 1887, so reduced the cost of refining oil that the price has been lowered from seventy to seven cents per gallon. This is a benefit to the people of this country, counting the population at sixty millions, of two hundred and sixteen million dollars per annum. Surely, if this company does wax rich, who shall with justice complain, since the greatest good of the greatest number is subserved? Again, we are able to command the news of the whole world of a morning for the trifling sum of two cents, through the good offices of that admirable combination, the Associated Press. This nicely-adjusted organization collates and tabulates local reportorial work, and each day lays down the news of the two hemispheres ready, even to the smallest detail, for publication in the different daily newspaper offices. As we accept our newspapers and all the other results of organization, we take our postal service as a matter of course, without thought of the fact that it is the evolution of an organization established less than a hundred years ago.

A differentiation of organs accompanied by a specialization of functions evidences a higher development, and this is what we see in the organization of the present. Inventive genius no longer leaves its work to the mercy of time, but is taken up by organization and at once incorporated into the world's every-day activity. There is now no darkness from without to overwhelm our civilization as the civilization of Rome was overwhelmed by barbarian invasion, for organization zones the earth with a common revealing light. As for the darkness from within, there are mighty organized forces, prominent among which is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which are reaching out in all directions and successfully grappling with the monster harlot, ignorance, whose offspring are the woes of the world.

But, really, the outline which I promised in the interests of brevity is rapidly growing panoramic on this one division of my subject, and I seem to be in a fair way to bring discredit on the reputation for flawless truth which the newspaper fraternity enjoy. However, in passing, I will permit myself to speak of the organization of the world's wage-workers, as that is a part of another indicating sign of the time.

Labor, the modern Atlas on whose rugged shoulders rests the world, through its organization has struck and is still striking telling blows for the just and equitable recognition of the interdependence of all mankind. To be sure, some of these blows have been boomerangs,—more the pity. Still, they have been no unimportant factor in bringing about the dawning realization that there is a subtle relation, which may not be put asunder or escaped, binding together all classes of men. Science, reinforcing these organizations on this line, is demonstrating the unalterable relations which all classes bear to each other. No longer is the death-dealing disease which visits the sheltered homes of the rich considered a mysterious visitation of Providence; for science has proved that the wind of heaven, blowing where it listeth and respecting not persons, wafts on its wings, and deposits in the sheltering home of fortune's favorite, the deadly microbe incubated in the abode of men too poor, helpless, and ignorant to obey the laws of health. Truly, all things in these latter days are working together for good, and thus we see the law of self-preservation moving the opulent to work in God's vineyard. And, furthermore, it is blessed to record that it is now recognized that this work shall be practical, intelligent, trained effort. Missionary-training-schools, devoted to teaching those who are to give themselves to the uplifting instruction of the unfortunate, are established, and the rich give of their abundance to sustain them. And so it is that those who are called of the Spirit go and learn how to respond to that call intelligently and skilfully.

There are two of these missionary-training-schools in our great mid-continent mart on the shores of old Lake Michigan, one of which was the

first school of the kind established, if I am rightly informed, in this or any other country. It was three thousand years ago, in round numbers, that Samuel established a school of the prophets, because he saw the need of an educated ministry; but it has remained for this day and generation to discover that something more than goodness and willingness is needed to fit a woman for home-missionary work, which is largely guiding sensitive, benighted souls out of the slough of ignorance, inertia, and filth to wholesome godly living.

A sign of the times that in these last days is a benediction is, that the angel of peace is brooding over the whole world. With appliances more deadly than have ever before been known in the hands of men, there are neither wars nor rumors of wars. Arbitration is mounting the vacant throne of force, and the universal principle that injury to one is injury to all is becoming not only an accepted but a realized fact.

Another sign of the times is the mighty wave of interest in matters psychical, that is bringing with it incontrovertible demonstrations of the threefold nature of man. The hypnotic experiments conducted by M. Charcot at the hospital of the Salpêtrière and those at Nancy made by Dr. Lebault have furnished proof, accepted by science, that man is a spirit clothed with a material form. Faith is at last reinforced by fact. Instinct is becoming luminous insight; and the next step will surely be the activity which will have as its single aim nothing less than the development of the soul, not at the expense of the body, but through its absolute purity and perfection; and not alone the individual soul, but the soul of humanity. Thus, the recognition of the viewless as the actuating is no longer a theory only, but a fact appealing to the senses for recognition as having a therapeutic and forensic significance.

In this year of grace 1891 woman is claiming and being accorded her own, not in exceptional instances, but in great numbers, and not by word of mouth, but by deed. By dint of sobriety, frugality, and unflagging industry, women have made themselves a recognized power in the industrial world. So true is this that labor organizations are giving to women equal recognition with men, as without the co-operation of women it has been found that their efforts are futile. More than this, these organizations are anxious that women shall have universal suffrage, as has been demonstrated by a petition circulated by Dr. Frances Dickenson, of Chicago, and signed by between one and two million working-men.

Miss Willard, in her admirable and most comprehensive annual address delivered at the Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union convened at Atlanta, Georgia, in November, calls attention to the fact that it is the highest compliment that has ever been paid to woman, yet one of the most unobserved, that no school has ever been opened to her save by the vote of men. She also cites the fact that the admission of woman into

the learned professions and into all other spheres of enlarged activity has been through the generous courtesy of men. She said, "It has been my experience and observation that most men are ready to accord to woman the opportunity to do whatever she can do well." With very few exceptions all ways are open to her, and it is not difficult to discern that the ballot for woman is fast becoming a political necessity. Not only is this true because of the important place woman now occupies in the commercial world, but because to every thoughtful patriot the threatening evil of utter lack of interest in matters political among those who do not look to politics as a means of gain can be corrected only at the fireside, and that will never be until woman is made equal with man in the administration of the government which she must now assist to support. Archbishop Ireland, of Minnesota, said to me a few months ago, "I am decidedly in favor of the suffrage for women. It is just and right and also inevitable. It must sooner or later be granted them, and I am inclined to think it will be sooner rather than later." This, from one of the most distinguished and far-seeing prelates of the Catholic Church, is full of hopeful prophecy.

The assertion is a common one that this is woman's age. But this is a superficial conclusion. Her era was long since past, and man's is fast drawing to a close. So closely are the interests of man and woman bound together that every real benefit gained by the one-half of humanity will, of necessity, also benefit the other half in equal measure. Therefore is this the age of humanity. The ballot for woman will be no less a good to man than to woman. There are now hundreds of thousands of reputable citizens who do not exercise the right of franchise, and thus our most sacred interests are relegated to greed and ignorance. It is not strange that those whose clearness of vision makes them leaders among their fellows have decided that women should have all the political privileges enjoyed by men, if for no other reason than that children may be taught at their mother's knee that it is just as much a patriotic duty to vote as it is to fight for one's country.

Another thing that is full of inspiring promise is that woman's growing independence enables her to cease to consider marriage as the sole fulfilment of her destiny, the only means of securing support and a home.

In a recent article in the *Forum*, Junius Henri Browne says of the American woman: "She has learned that marriage for the sake of marriage is every way worse than the dreariest celibacy: that homes so gained are such in name alone. Wedlock with her is no longer an end: she discards the idea of it from her consciousness until it presents itself with a fervor and force that demand recognition. She does not wait for suitors: she spurns the notion of exchanging herself for material maintenance. For this she depends on herself, and is sincerer, stronger, nobler

for the self-dependence. Thousands of the finest and best of her sex, in every large American city, are now bravely and healthfully at work. The words 'old maid' have recently been shorn of their terrifying power; they are revered, in contrast with the words 'unhappy wife.' Independence, while it makes her superior to marriage, fits her to be the truest of conjugal companions."

In no line of work through which woman gains for herself the independent individuality that makes her free is she less trammelled than in newspaper work. A notable illustration of what a woman may accomplish in this line, and one which has not been given the prominence it deserves, occurred in connection with my beloved professional rival, Miss Mary H. Krout, of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, during the campaign that resulted in the election of President Harrison. At that time she was on the reportorial force of the paper. However, the managing editor had discovered not only that she was able and reliable, but that she was possessed of a better knowledge of Indiana politics and politicians than any member of the staff. After consulting with her, it was decided that she should conduct the campaign for the *Inter-Ocean* in Indiana. Miss Krout is by no means a strong woman, but for one hundred and eight consecutive days she sent from one to two columns of matter each day to her paper. Besides this she sent numerous telegrams and private letters from which the editorial policy of the paper was shaped. The longest telegram sent by Miss Krout was a speech of General Lew Wallace of between two and three columns. It was delivered at Whitlock, Indiana, ten miles from a railway station. Her judgment was that it was a great speech, and she hastened in a carriage to the nearest telegraph-office and sent it to her paper. The result confirmed her judgment, for the edition of the *Inter-Ocean* containing the speech was soon exhausted, and to meet the demand thirty thousand copies were printed and sent to Indianapolis by a special train. The daily papers of Indianapolis were obliged to copy it from the *Inter-Ocean*, and it was used as a campaign document. The day of the election Miss Krout sent all the specials for the office bulletins, and worked without leaving her desk from nine o'clock one morning until two o'clock the next, making seventeen hours of constant work. She says, in speaking of it, that she was the solitary woman at the press head-quarters, but was not reminded of the fact save by the especial courtesy of the State officials. When Miss Krout returned, she was made one of the editors of the *Inter-Ocean*, which position she still holds. No more arduous and brilliant piece of newspaper work has been done by any woman in America than this, and it is doubtful if Mrs. Emily Crawford, famed as a worker in this line, has done anything to excel it.

After Miss Krout returned to Chicago the following letter was sent to the editor-in-chief of the *Inter-Ocean:*

INDIANAPOLIS, November 14, 1888.

EDITOR *Inter-Ocean*, Chicago, Illinois:.

DEAR SIR,—We, the undersigned State officers, desire hereby to say to you that Miss Mary H. Krout, your correspondent here during the campaign just ended, has shown unusual zeal and ability in her line of work, and that we feel beholden to her for the valuable service which she has rendered the good cause for Harrison and the Republican party.

Very truly,

J. A. LEMCKE, Treasurer of State,
BRUCE CARR, Auditor of State,
HARRY M. LA FOLLETTE, Superintendent of Public Instruction,
CHARLES F. GRIFFIN, Secretary of State,
L. T. MICHENER, Attorney-General.

It is a fact that the possibilities for woman in newspaper work are limited only by her ability and industry. It is a laborious, exacting profession, but still as alluring as an unending transformation scene, and is a constant education. It is open in all its departments to women, providing they are capable of doing the work or are willing to begin at the bottom and work hard to learn. Indeed, no daily newspaper staff is now considered complete without at least one woman. Each daily paper in Chicago has from one to five women regularly employed. As to their influence on the daily press,—first, every woman who does valuable work has much influence; again, a dignified, womanly woman, who is thoroughly well informed, may wield an incalcuable power for all that is noble and good.

There is no more sure sign of the strong onward progress of women than that *esprit de corps* is rapidly developing among them. The Chicago Protective Agency for Women and Children is a striking exponent of this development. This organization is composed of women of culture and wealth who are social leaders, and who give freely of their time, means, and influence to secure justice to all women without reference to their moral character, precisely as time out of mind justice has been meted out to men. They shrink from nothing, and wherever a woman is in need of such help as can be given by those who stand on high, firm ground, they are ready to help wisely and effectively, and it is pleasant to tell you that there is not a judge or a justice in all Chicago who does not defer to and respect their judgment.

Truly, the signs of the time are full of hope. The horizon of the future is an aureole about the brow of earth, for verily there is one, panoplied in the universal principles of truth, who has arisen, out in our great Western metropolis, and is crying, "Cleanse ye the fountain. Waste not your effort on the polluted stream." She has appealed to the mother-heart, and not in vain. The world is hungering for bread, but alas, so many stones are given it! Miss Elizabeth Harrison is giving it the bread

that it craves, and with such eagerness is it received that she is quite unequal to meet the demand. This sweet, lofty-souled, fine-brained saviour of childhood has drawn from the deepest, purest sources of wisdom, and is teaching mothers and teachers how to solve easily and effectively all those vexed problems of labor and capital, temperance, the rights of women, personal purity, and the recognition of the high purpose of life, with the babe and the growing child. Mothers are crowding to hear her, and she is teaching teachers that they may go forth with such messages of redemption that the little ones of to-day shall, in the quick-coming future, be men and women worthy to claim the beatitude of the pure in heart who shall see God.

Then, though pessimistic dealers in the shadows of fear, surrounded by the splendid results of all the centuries, are yet utterly unable to discern the God-plan; though greed has not ceased out of the land; though the hearts of many workers for the weal of the world are sick with hope deferred, because they see but the segment close about them, and not the grand hope-inspiring whole: be not deceived. This is a transition period. Soon the achievements of science will reduce hours of labor, and all men will have time to enjoy freedom and fulness of living. Soon woman will be at every point man's equal, and she will not then become, according to Socrates of old, man's superior, but will surely be true to all tradition and her nature, and will panoply him in all that she gains by her equality. Then humanity will be a complete and godlike whole. The unfortunate shall be cared for, the rights of every human being recognized, and personal purity and the sacredness of marriage be the rule. We are on Pisgah's heights, and, though we who live to-day may never enter in, blessed is it to see the land of promise.

VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD.

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH.

"The truth is, we are in the midst of such terrible errors on the subject of woman and her veritable rights that it is frightful to think of."—*Tolstoi's "Kreutzer Sonata."*

The difficulty of approaching the subject of the relation of the sexes is tenfold, if the prerogatives of the dominant sex are challenged. It is because of its attack upon men that Tolstoi's "Kreutzer Sonata" has raised so much opposition. To decry this last publication of the Russian novelist as immoral is merely a little dust-throwing to blind women to the truths in the book, and it is to be hoped that neither this abuse nor the author's own religious beliefs and Eastern philosophy will obscure for his readers the gospel set forth. True, Tolstoi is extreme; but humanity has been so misguided by the average man's thought, or rather passion, that it is scarcely ground for wonder that a sensitive thinker should regard as an ideal, entire continence.

Tolstoi aims to reach a solution of life for men; as to the f women, he admits he is not informed. In this object he resem writers who deal with the relation of the sexes; for all look at t from the man's point of view, and seldom if ever from the s rights and duties of the mother and the interests of the chil weighty considerations are buffeted about according to the opin other subjects held by the persons handling them. The politi mist of the Mill school tells the working-man that his trouble come from unequal distribution of wealth, but from his large fan labor market is overstocked, and poverty results. The Malthus foretelling terrible consequences if human increase is not limi cates various artificial checks, not to human license, but to ra tivity. Many a socialist denies all these forebodings, and proc even England now "has too small a population for a really ilization."

Now, these contradictory theories resemble one another in ticular,—those who propound them think that economic cons alone should settle this matter of population. In contrast to man's commercial view of race production, stands the woman's backed by reason. She asks, first, will the child be welcome what will be its inheritance of physical, mental, and moral c third, can the child be provided for in life? Every conscientio replies to the socialist and to the Malthusian that satisfactor must be given to the woman's first and second demand, and satisfactory answers to those questions the third consideration r be left to take care of itself.

In animal life, as soon as we get conscious motherhood, the evolution become greater and more rapid.

Below the birds "the animal takes care of himself as soon as to live. He has nothing to learn, and his career is a simple rep the careers of countless ancestors." Among higher birds and m great change takes place: the life of the creature becomes so v complex that habits cannot be fully organized in the nervous syst birth. The antenatal period is too short to allow of such deve So we get a period of infancy, a time of plasticity, of teachable this time Fiske truly says, "The first appearance of infancy in t world heralded the new era which was to be crowned by the dev of man." From this point in evolution the period of infancy l —indeed, this is the condition of progress. To reach a highe development a longer time must be given to immaturity or growth period will be one of greater or less dependence according as being is of higher or lower species. What chiefly distinguishes t being from the lower animals is the increase in the former o

surface and organization, and the necessary accompaniment of this development, a lengthened period of infancy.

Now, this increased time of immaturity is a direct tax upon the mother in any species; so to her is due each step in evolution. Men talk of the sacredness of motherhood, but judging from their acts it is the last thing that is held sacred in the human species. Poets sing and philosophers reason about the holiness of the mother's sphere, but men in laws and customs have degraded the woman in her maternity. Motherhood is sacred,—that is, voluntary motherhood; but the woman who bears unwelcome children is outraging every duty she owes the race. The mothers of the human species should turn to the animals, and from the busy caretakers, who are below them in most things, learn the simple truths of procreation. Let women but understand the part unenforced maternity has played in the evolution of animal life, and their reason will guide them to the true path of race development. Let them note that natural selection has carefully fostered the maternal instinct. The offspring of the fondest females in each animal species, having of course the most secure and prolonged infancy, are "naturally selected" to continue their kind. The female offspring gains by inheritance in philoprogenitiveness, and thus is built up the instinct which prepares the females of a higher species for a more developed altruism. Through countless ages mother-love has been evolved and been working out its mission; surely women should recognize the meaning of the instinct, and should refuse to prostitute their creative powers, and so jeopardize the progress of the human race. Upon the mothers must rest in the last instance the development of any species.

In this work women need not hope for help from men. The sense of obligation to offspring, men possess but feebly; there has not been developed by animal evolution an instinct of paternity. They are not disinherited fathers; they are simply unevolved parents. There is no ground for wonder that this is so; for in but a few species among the lower animals is even a suggestion of paternal instinct found. The male bird often occupies itself with the hatching and feeding of the brood, and the lion is a pattern father; but usually we find no hint of paternal instinct in the male, and sometimes antagonism towards the young of the species. Evidently nature tried her hand on paternity, it did not fulfil the hopes she had of it, and she turned a cold shoulder upon its development. The paternal instinct is not a factor in evolution.

If, then, the law of natural selection is of weight, we should expect to find very little, if any, instinct of paternity in the male of the human species. Not only by such *a priori* reasoning is this conclusion reached, but *a posteriori* reasoning emphasizes the same truth. Men like to accumulate, and hand down their accumulations with their name. This is a method of securing some sort of immortality, and gives rise to the neglect of ille-

gitimate children, the preference of male to female offspring, the primogeniture, and the selection, in case of male heirs failing, of distant relation to inherit the property provided he will adopt the n his benefactor. The masculine tendencies which have crystallized selves in these customs bear no resemblance to paternal love. A w does not discriminate between her legitimate and illegitimate child had mothers been instrumental in making legal codes there would no been a law of entail.

But perhaps the strongest proof of the feebleness of philoproge ness in men is the existence of their system of prostitution, wi accompanying thoughtlessness in which parenthood is risked, an indifference with which rich fathers leave their children to a life of ship, if not of crime. When Henry Ward Beecher made his f assertion, in the Presidential campaign of '88, that if all the men like Grover Cleveland, had carried on illicit relations with women, for him, the Democratic candidate would sweep New York by an whelming majority, his words called forth no resentment. But do such a statement, if it be a fact, imply a more vital truth? It mea but a handful of men could solemnly swear that they are certain no of theirs is rotting out its life in some tenement or gutter. Could th a more unanswerable argument against the existence of paternal feelin the brief statement, that of the seventy thousand illegitimate childre each year in France, only five thousand are acknowledged by the fa And our very attitude towards men of the type of the other si thousand shows that we do not expect strong paternal feeling in me one feels that George Eliot drew an abnormal creature in Godfre When he fails to acknowledge his child and leaves it with the d weaver, the author does not describe his conduct as that of a brut Again, no thoughtful person could fail to be struck in reading D Life and Letters, by the fact that the greatest student of heredity time, though himself the victim of an incurable and hereditary never questioned his right to become the father of many children. yet he was fully aware of the probability of ill health for his offspri in letters to friends he pours out his fears: "My dread is heredi health. *Even death is better for them.*" Is it only a woman's lo would lead to the opposite conclusion: *Better had they never bee* Now, no one could say that Darwin was a bad man; on the cont report speaks truly, we may look upon him as exceptionally good conclusion then forces itself upon us that even the best of men are in that nice conscience which recognizes the sacredness of life a responsibility of its creation. But humanity would suffer the mini evil from this cause, were not laws based upon the extraordinary tion that, "by the law of nature and the law of God," the fathe

sole guardian of the child, and the suicidal custom followed of giving the power of legislation and the social dominance, in all sex matters, into the hands of that half of the race which is unfitted by nature for any just comprehension of these questions.

Ever since the patriarchate was established there has been a tendency to cramp the mother in her maternal rights; so we see no race improvement comparable with our advance in material science. Those who could improve humanity have been hindered by those who prefer to improve steam-engines. The sex which has been laboriously evolved by nature for the arduous work of race-building is handicapped; so more and more the best women turn from the work of motherhood and join the ranks of competitive labor, or seek in society and politics a field for the free play of their ambitions. And now certain of our thinkers forebode evil for a people whose women turn from the home to the frivolities of fashion and the excitement of the political arena. Their forebodings are not without foundation; but the remedy does not lie in depriving women of public freedom, but in according them absolute domestic liberty. The world must act, as well as talk, as if motherhood were important and sacred, before women will give full allegiance to that office. But so to act requires a complete right-about-face.

Frances Galton says, "It seems to me most essential to the well-being of future generations that the average standard of ability of the present time should be raised. We are in crying want of a greater fund of ability in all stations of life; for neither the classes of statesmen, philosophers, artisans, nor laborers are up to the modern complexity of their several professions. Our race is overweighted, and appears likely to be dragged into degeneracy by demands that exceed its powers." The need is that the race be lifted up. But how is a species raised? Always by lengthening the period of infancy. And at whose expense must this be done? At the mother's; more and more of her thought, more and more of her time must be given to the period of immaturity in her offspring; later and later should the child be brought into contact with the practical demands of life. This work requires as its first condition voluntary maternity; for the unwelcome child is mentally and physically below the average; and it is a direct drag upon the mother in the efficient performance of already assumed maternal duties. The evolution of humanity and enforced maternity are antagonistic.

A second condition of race-improvement is a broader education for women. It is amazing that the nineteenth century holds that any sort of education is good enough for girls. It indicates, too, how low an opinion we have of motherhood, that when a woman does receive superior training it is considered lost, unless she enters upon a competitive career. In a recent speech before a girls' school, Mr. Gladstone, commenting on the

success women had achieved in education, said that as a result places of work would have to be thrown open to them; that "of course they could not be given the training, and be debarred from the use of that training." But surely is it not equally a matter *of course* that even if women were debarred from public life, they would not be debarred a very important use for all the knowledge of the universe in their sphere of race-builders? The fact is, few women and fewer men regard maternity in its true light; traced down to finalities, the birth of most human beings is a sexual accident. Of course, the person playing the chief *rôle* in this game of haphazard is neither self-respecting nor respected; for a matter of chance is never held as holy, however much poets and philosophers, popes and bishops may declare the reverse.

A third condition of race progress is that women should divide with no other person authority over the child. When the work of race-building is left wholly to women, we may look for better results; for then the ambition of the best mothers will find a congenial field for action in their so-called "sphere." As the human being is always of more real value than the work, so to rear an astronomer is perchance a higher labor than to discover a comet. Who would not rather know the work of old Frau Goethe—viz., Goethe himself—than the child of his brain, Faust? If nature has intended women for a special career, the way to defeat the object is to limit their responsibility and authority so completely that they turn to freer fields of work. May the time come when women, fully educated, will be left free to use their creative powers as a lever for raising humanity to a nobler type.

The first step towards making maternity voluntary is to secure for all women financial independence. There are those who think this can be done by women entering the world of competitive work. Now, there is no doubt that the female of the human race could win her way, if free of artificial hinderances. The female among the lower animals supports herself and her offspring: she is competent both as bread-winner and mother. Under present sex relations women have been enfeebled in two ways,—they have lost the mental training gained in bread-winning, and have been physically depleted by playing the double *rôle* of mother and mistress. But undoubtedly in freedom, women could again be self-supporting and efficient mothers, just as they were in the time of the matriarchate; but we may well doubt whether, in our dire need for the elevation of our species, it would be economy to make the mothers of the race enter the field of competition to gain their bread and cheese. However, if the choice lies between this and the financial dependence of one woman upon one man, then every well-wisher to the race must say, let the woman be self-supporting. But educated thought upon this subject will desire to make better terms with women, and the latter will finally make better

terms with civilization. Undoubtedly the tendency at present is to seek independence by undertaking competitive work, rather than to demand that work done in the home shall be recognized and command money return. Just where this tendency is to lead is not plain; but if with self-support should come an increasing neglect of maternal duties, the result will be race decadence; but if self-support leads women to the conditions, in some co-operative form, of life in the time of the Mutterrecht, human improvement may be carried to a high point of perfection. But the field of race production is so fundamental in its importance, so broad in its possibilities, it opens an arena so wide for the play of the loftiest ambitions and of the most varied talents, that time and leisure to be secured, on honorable terms, to those cultivating this field, seems but justice the most meagre and wisdom the most evident.

The solution most often offered for our social difficulties is divorce. But it is a solution which does not touch the real source of the trouble, and its agitation diverts attention from more vital questions. It is because divorce merely shifts the disease from one home to another, because it in no way lessens our trouble—the financial dependence of women, and enforced maternity—that the carrying of legislation upon the lines of easier dissolution of the marriage contract proves but a barren victory. Any one visiting the States of the American Union where the freest divorce laws have been passed, will be forced to the conclusion that in Indiana and in Illinois people suffer from the same social evils as in England, for there, as here, no solution of the knotty problem of the money independence of women has been attempted, and the child of the West as seldom as in Europe receives its birthright of a hearty welcome to the world. Divorce does not overcome these two difficulties, difficulties which, until they are met and overcome, will destroy peace in domestic relations and progress in race development. As public opinion grows upon our two great needs, legislation will probably take more the line of securing to the woman her fair share of the family income, and giving her absolute right to her children.

What the final relation of man and woman may be it is futile to prophesy; but we may be sure, if there is an ideal relation, it is to be reached by honesty, not by pretence. As a race we talk much of monogamy, and practise it very little. Monogamy implies one marriage, and no more. And that means no prostitution, no divorce, no second marriage. A second sex-relation is just as promiscuous, physiologically speaking, whether the first partner is literally buried in the graveyard or only figuratively so in the far West of America. But yet every Christian church sanctions second marriage, most civilized states grant divorce for some cause, and in every nation society winks at prostitution. It would be becoming in us, then, to claim to be no more than agnostics in the phi-

losophy of the true relation of the sexes. But while we hesitate to foretell finalities, we must take cognizance of the undeniable fact that each day is adding to the number of thoughtful men and women who see the discrepancy between our theories and human needs and practices; each day the birth-rate of girls is rising in England upon that of boys, and already the number of women exceeds that of men by one million, and yet each day adds to the number of free, self-supporting women, women, too, who have lost none of their strong maternal instinct. We need not stop to prophesy the sex-relation of the future; we can only hope that an enlightened humanity may see that we must be true

"To higher allegiance, higher than our love,"

and that we could have no more inspiring religious motto than the words of Froebel,—

"Let us live for our children."

THE PRESIDENT. We will now hear from Estelle M. H. Merrill, president of the New England Woman's Press Association.

ESTELLE M. H. MERRILL. I am very sorry that Katharine Conway, who is a member of the executive board of the association which I have the honor to represent, is not here to give you her paper, which would surely be worthy of place. If I should take a topic, it would be the title that I saw on her paper, "The Journalistic Outlook."

For a long time women have been doing journalistic work very ably. This you all know. It is a platitude. For a long time they have been receiving for the work very nearly, if not quite, the same pay as men receive. I think they are treated, too, in a remarkably polite, amiable, and gracious way by the men with whom they associate. The outlook is, therefore, broader than that of almost any other profession.

As to the work, "The tools to those that can use them," has been for a long time the motto in journalism. In the New England Press Association, of which I have the honor to be the head, we have women doing all sorts of newspaper work,—journalists, business managers, owning and publishing papers,—doing everything that men are doing, and doing it well. They bring to their work an element of conscientiousness that is sometimes lacking in that of men.

There is one item in the work of women journalists that I think is worth mentioning. We have in our association married women whose husbands are also journalists. This is a very happy state of things. I hope that the law in our State will be changed after a time so that husbands and wives can become legal partners in business. They are practically that now.

I thank you for the privilege of saying a word for our association, and

give the Council a very cordial greeting, and assure the women here that they can count on the newspaper women to help them every time. Printing is called the "art preservative." That is what the newspaper women are trying to do,—to preserve the efforts made by others along all lines of good work.

THE PRESIDENT. I forgot to mention that Mrs. Merrill is attached to the staff of the Boston *Daily Globe*. We had three of the most finished journalists in the country on our programme, the others being Lillian Whiting, of the Boston *Budget*, and Katharine E. Conway, of the Boston *Pilot*,* names of high character. The essays of the other two are admirable, and will be given in our Transactions. I will also say that Mrs. Merrill is known by the name of Jean Kincaid.

I have here a very encouraging and valuable telegram from Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, who has been the leader in securing scientific education through our Nation, as you know, and who is National Superintendent in the W. C. T. U. She was to have spoken to us on that subject; it was a total loss to our temperance programme that she was not with us. She has gone back to Raleigh, North Carolina, where she is pursuing her usual vocation in trying to persuade the legislature to pass temperance education laws.

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, February 25.

The North Carolina Legislature has just passed unanimously one of the best temperance education laws ever known. I trust the Council will forgive my absence, due to watching and waiting for this result.

MARY H. HUNT.

WOMEN IN THE PULPIT.

KATE TANNATT WOODS. It has been said that "God's instruments for his work in the world are superior to the accident of sex." Accepting this as a truth, it is not necessary for me in this place, and in this presence, to recall the history of woman in the church of the past, or to add anything to the able arguments for or against her *right* to become a minister.

Scripture, both in the Old Testament and the New, gives us notable examples of her powerful ministry, while the records of the Christian Church throughout the world confirm all that we may learn from the Scriptures. During the sixth and seventh centuries the work of women in the ministry seems to have been equal to that of men. Jerome tells us that, "each in his own sex, they ministered in baptism and the word." Later on, we find that the ambition of those in high places led them to deprive women of their power, and even the order of deaconesses was allowed to drop out of existence. The Nestorian churches refer to the work of woman as a "great and sublime ministry," and it was not until

* Miss Conway preferred not to have her essay published.

the priesthood became corrupt that woman was set aside. Pliny, in his letter to the Emperor Trajan, mentions "two maid-servants called ministers;" while Chrysostom confirms the antiquity of the office, and pays tribute to the worth of Olympias, whom he describes as "living in perpetual fellowship with pain." Chrysostom also refers to this saintly minister as despising the cleanliness which we are told is next to godliness, as she went about wearing unwashed linen and clothed in rags. Can it be possible that the unjust slander which has attached to literary women concerning untidiness and negligence had its origin at that time? Surely no modern minister of our sex can be justly accused of following the example of the saintly Olympias in this respect.

Time will not permit me to enumerate all the names so familiar to you in sacred history, but one cannot fail to think of Miriam, leading her hosts of worshippers; of Deborah, the minister who disarms all criticism as to celibacy, and who was not only an orator but a poet and ruler as well; of the four daughters of Philip, who spoke to the edification of the people; and of Mary, the mother of Christ, who sung as never man sung: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour." Can we, even in our realistic century, repeat her words without an uplifting of heart and a hope born of the Divine ministry?

I leave this charming theme of the Women of the Gospels to wiser heads and more skilful hands, while I ask you to recall two women of Spain who long years ago were celebrated as teachers of theology. There was Angela de Foligno, who became so celebrated that learned doctors listened to her inspired words and hungered for more; there was Isabella Rosena, who by her eloquence in preaching converted many Jews and was followed by crowds wherever she discoursed. These women, and many more whose names are not enrolled on any earthly record, "spoke the Word as God gave it unto them." St. Paul, who is quoted extensively on one dyspeptic utterance, which he doubtless let fall as some of our orators do at the present time, wishing it unsaid as soon as it passed from his lips, said also, "I beseech thee help these women, for they labored with me also in the Gospel." Historical and Scriptural enumeration might be multiplied until the dawn of day to prove woman's power in the pulpit, or as a "preacher of the Word which maketh alive."

Fully believing that the truth is established out of the mouths of many witnesses, and having to deal rather with existing facts than with theories, I will endeavor to put before you in as few words as possible some correct statements as to the women now engaged in the Christian ministry and the result of their experience. Soon after your Chairman did me the honor to request my presence here, I prepared and sent out to the women ministers of every denomination throughout the country the following list of questions. I am personally acquainted with many of these ladies,

and, although I may not break the bonds of confidence, I am at liberty to give you portions of their replies. They are varied, instructive, and in some instances extremely original.

DEAR MADAM,—

Will you kindly respond to the following questions? By so doing, you will aid me materially in representing your profession truthfully.

1. Does the work of women in the pulpit compare favorably with that of men?
2. How many receive as large salaries as men?
3. Do you find clerical duties more exacting than domestic cares?
4. Are the men of your parish as appreciative as the women?
5. How many women preachers are there in your denomination?
6. What denomination has thus far ordained the greatest number of women?

A prompt reply will greatly facilitate the preparation of a paper on "Women in the Pulpit."

It is well known to most of you, that the Universalist Church was the first to return to their allegiance to women as co-workers in the ministry and the first to regularly ordain them, although the Quakers, or Friends, have some three hundred and fifty ministers, many of whom are regularly ordained.

The first woman ordained in the Universalist communion, in 1863, writes me as follows: "I stood up against persecution and held my place in the parish for seven years. Men worked against us then, and in various ways tried to make us leave our parishes. Our salaries correspond with the salaries of men about as the salaries of women teachers with male teachers. The profession is one eminently suited to woman, as her sympathetic nature and spiritual insight, combined with her power to find acceptable words, fit her for the work. The duties of the clerical profession are in no way inconsistent with family duties."

Another brave minister, who has built up more than one broken-down parish and brought together disaffected and unhappy brethren and sisters, writes: "If you want to go back to the New Testament, do not forget the woman of Samaria, whom Christ sent to proclaim that the Messiah had come. Paul himself sent Phœbe with a letter to the Romans asking them to help her form a church. Women have always preached, ever since I could remember; it is natural to them. The men in my parish have been helpful in all my work."

From Ohio comes this word: "Yes, the work of women compares favorably with that of men, and a little more so. Domestic life does not interfere with clerical duties, and I have had considerable experience."

From New York State a minister replies: "The men in the two parishes where I have ministered have been equally appreciative with the women. I find clerical duties far less exacting than family cares. I have reared my family, performed the duties of wife, mother, and housekeeper, and I am pastor of three churches; preach three times each Sunday, be-

sides teaching in the Sunday School, and yet find time for work in the various philanthropic movements with which I am connected,—peace, education, social purity, and sobriety. We have now more than forty women ministers in the Universalist Church, all doing good work, and many of them also engaged in reform, literary work, lecturing, or authorship."

From Connecticut another brave woman, who desires to do full justice to all, writes: "I learn that the Free-Will Baptist and the Christian Congregationalists had women ministers almost as soon as the Universalists, although they were not regularly ordained. Caroline A. Soule was the first woman missionary to Scotland, and she dedicated in Glasgow the first Universalist Church. Many women are licensed but not ordained."

Rev. Augusta Chapin, of Illinois, was the first woman to perform a marriage ceremony on the Pacific Coast, in 1874. She stands at the front of one hundred and thirty-five women ministers in the United States.

A Presbyterian writes: "Yes, the men of my parish are as appreciative as the women. We have now three women ministers in our denomination. As to work, I have averaged three hundred calls per year, twenty funerals, two sermons and two meetings weekly, and three years of that time was much occupied in caring for an invalid mother."

Another minister in Illinois thinks "the pulpit work compares favorably with men and the pastoral is much superior. Salaries are much the same now. The successful pastor must put into her work more heart and brain power than the average woman gives to her domestic cares. Many women are now preaching in different denominations, and doing most acceptable work, but are not ordained."

From an eminent worker in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I find this report: "I am only an humble worker in the Master's vineyard, but believe in women being ordained to preach. So far as I know, the Quakers, or Friends, have the largest number of women ordained."

From Maine the answer was laconic in the extreme, indicating a frost in that section,—"Yes," "No," and "I do not know," without further explanation or comment. This was the only instance, out of some fifty or more replies to the circulars.

Another minister in Illinois says, "There is no reason why a woman preacher should remain single. A woman can do fifty per cent. better work if she has a home of her own, and her experience as wife and mother enlarges her powers and increases her ability to help others."

From far-away Dakota comes this crisp word: "Yes, I think our work compares with that of men, and more favorably perhaps. Better ask the men, for all women's congregations are composed largely of men."

From a bright Massachusetts woman, who is also a minister's wife as well as a minister, I hear: "My opinion is that the pulpit services of women average as well as those of men; a man minister at my elbow says it is above the average preaching by men." She adds, "The word 'duties' means your level best everywhere and no let up."

From little Rhode Island another woman, known for her work among the neglected classes, writes, "I believe women to be especially adapted to the work of the Gospel, especially among the unfortunate."

Frances Willard, whose work is world-wide, and whose book upon "Women in the Pulpit" renders argument with her on that point unnecessary, says that, although not a minister, she glories in the work performed by women ministers.

The only lack of interest and intelligence upon this question, save my short-metre correspondent in Maine, I find among the men. This no one can regret more than myself, since our best women have never doubted their loyalty and gallantry, however much we may disagree with them on some topics.

One reverend gentleman says, "I believe we have a good many women in the Methodist Church who are doing the same work as men but are not ordained."

To the list of questions sent, a Congregational divine in this State replied, "I have not tried to keep posted on the matter," an indifference which you may interpret for yourselves.

An Episcopal clergyman writes, "You must know, after your earnest work in our communion for twenty years, that no female CAN be ordained to the work of preaching. Ladies occasionally address audiences upon special missionary work, but no woman can be set apart for that purpose in the Church." I was well aware of this, but desired a positive statement from one in authority. This fact, with other limitations and exactions which seemed to your speaker contrary to the broad Gospel of a Universal Saviour, led her to sever her connection with the Church grown dear to her heart by many ties. Only those who have endured such a struggle can understand the cost. Being "set apart" by man will not bear the clear electric light of a broad Christianity turned upon it in this progressive nineteenth century.

A well-known author, who has not only preached acceptably without special ordination, but has also labored diligently among women ministers, said, in a recent address before the Woman's Ministerial Conference, "Our preparations for these occasions brought to our knowledge a greater number and diversity of women engaged in pastoral work than we had previously supposed to exist. We first met fifteen years ago, and in process of time the Woman's Ministerial Conference was formed. We hold annual meetings, and were represented in the National Council

of Women, at Washington, by Rev. Ada C. Bowles, of Massachusetts. While the importance of union and concert among the women ministers is easily seen, the difficulty of establishing such a union is very great. Ministers are scattered over a great extent of country. With the best will in the world, they cannot meet easily or often. I commend to you this little association. The ministry which it desires to represent has extended itself on every side, but we hope that our present coming together may aid us in the formation of some plan by which the women who have given themselves to this important calling may keep each other in sight, and be enabled to turn from the discouragements of limited and partial work to the cheering vision of the grand result. These meetings help us in every way and give us renewed strength for future endeavor."

A woman editor of experience writes, "I have heard few women preach, but always to my spiritual edification. My opinion is that many and many a man preaches with a black or scarlet letter on his soul. It seems to me that a woman who knows life, who has felt its cruel stings, and has come off conqueror,—such a woman could preach as tongue of angel might, and man never. Our records of crime show which sex is chief among sinners. Surely, the purest should preach the gospel of purity."

A literary gentleman writes, "I am a very conservative man by birth and training, but I have never been so moved, uplifted, and strengthened as by a woman's voice from the pulpit."

Dear friends, I might multiply testimony, and add experience to experience, and yet deduce nothing stronger than this simple fact: women have preached, women can preach, and women are preaching. Their power in the pulpit is all for God, right, truth, justice, and love. Their strong sympathies and quickness of mental action give to them a power peculiarly their own. Those who go down into the valley of death to perpetuate a race may safely be trusted to minister to that race. Our best men among the clergy welcome women, our grandest thinkers recognise the injustice which has kept them in the background, and all over the land the thought is growing that the mother love, the mother heart, is as necessary in the pulpit, the "church-home," as in the family.

With a profound reverence for the sacred office, with heart-felt appreciation of the inner meaning of that beautiful word *minister*, in its fullest and broadest sense, with considerable experience in church work, in the parish and Sunday school, and also with continual association with women ministers, I marvel much that any one can now question or doubt woman's fitness for the sacred office.

Not long since it was my sad duty to attend a funeral where a good mother in Israel rested in silence before us. Her home had been for many

years the rallying-place of clergymen of all denominations. Strong as she was in her own convictions, and devoted as she had ever been to the so-called orthodox communion, she nevertheless exercised the broadest charity and kindness towards those who disagreed with her. "After all," she would say, "there is one God and Father for us all. We can all rest there." Several of the clergymen who had known this good woman in life were present at her funeral. As they were called upon to speak, each had some generous word to say concerning the deceased. Kind as these words were, sincere as we knew them to be, the mourners' hearts were still numb with sorrow. Faith was blinded by human tears; hope was hidden by human pain. The human agony of the Garden was repeated in the lives of the Master's humble followers. Even the beautiful passages of Scripture so full of tender meaning at other times fell now upon unresponsive ears. When the clergymen ceased speaking, the sobs of those who were bereft broke the stillness which pervaded the house. Presently a woman arose, a small, gracious woman, with snow-white hair, dressed in modest Quaker costume. She had been a life-long friend of the woman whose face she looked upon as she spoke. In a few soft, tender words, she told of her friend's brave, unselfish life, of the grand endurance under trial and loss which the world never knew, of her struggles for her children, of her work for the needy and sorrowing, of her fine spiritual insight and delicate appreciation of all that was noble and good; and then she dwelt upon the growth of such a soul in a higher world under more favorable conditions, and of the old life experience which had prepared her for the new and more glorious life. Every sob was silenced, every tear was dried, and every soul present "looked up and not down," and found comfort. It was the divinely human touch which reached the unseen cord binding all hearts, through Christ's humanity, to God the Father. Man's hands had not been laid upon her in consecration, the Apostolic succession was nought to her, but God had opened her lips, and she spoke as never man spoke.

More and more as we come to know this power, more and more as we realize the spiritual presence, regardless of "isms," "ologies," or the "accident of sex," shall we get nearer and nearer to the heart of the Divine; then we shall accept gratefully the love, strength, hope, cheer, and spiritual comfort, whether it comes to us through the deep bass of a brother's voice, or the sweet minor chords of a woman's. As true politeness is of the heart and not of the head, so is it with true religion.

The world needs a glorified motherhood as well as a glorified fatherhood; it needs unity in Christian endeavor and careful adjustment in spiritual things; it needs manhood and womanhood at their best in religious thought as in literature and science, ere we shall reach our full stature as sons and daughters of God. Therefore would we welcome woman to

the pulpit. She will not come unbidden, save in solitary instances. She is hampered by old prejudices, doubtful of her powers, modest, as becomes her, and conscientious almost to the verge of morbid thought. The conditions imposed upon her for generations have been universally false. These conditions are rapidly changing, and when she does come to the work of the ministry,—through great doubt and tribulation, through sacrifice, and sometimes through persecution,—she will stand firm and immovable for the Truth. Her ideals are high, her conceptions of duty broad, her faith unswerving. She will give—ay, she does give—all that is best and noblest in her nature. The "woman minister" can never be man's rival; she is his helper, comforter, inspiration, and equal. She supplements his work and exalts her own. When he doubts, she hopes; when he despairs, she cheers him; and out of the abundance of the patience and courage which have been silently developing in her nature for many years, she conquers often where he has failed, and triumphs over obstacles grievous to be borne.

The same tenderness and encouragement which she furnishes in the home, the same sustaining effort and self-sacrifice she will bring to the ministry, until every man, whether preacher or layman, will be ready to say with our beloved poet:

> "I know the errand of their feet,
> I know what mighty work is theirs;
> I can but lift up hands unmeet
> The threshing-floors of God to best,
> And speed them with unworthy prayers."

THE PRESIDENT. And now let me, in conclusion, introduce Mrs. Amanda T. Jones, vice-president and general manager of the Woman's Canning Company of Chicago. Its second vice-president is Mary Allen West, editor of the *Union Signal.*

THE WOMAN'S CANNING AND PRESERVING COMPANY.

AMANDA T. JONES. Each special work that public opinion, backed by tradition, formerly assigned to the spindle-half—as our Anglo-Saxon ancestors designated woman—has been caught from her hands by the spear-half, man, whenever it could obviously be made the means of amassing wealth. Though he may plausibly urge the needs of wife and children as his valid excuse for rapacity, woman must not so allow her sceptre to be wrested from her. She must take back with a strong hand her lost dignities of labor. She must assert and maintain her prior right in certain industries to be not the mere drudge and starveling, but the trained and well-paid operative, the supervisor, the manager, the money-getter, the merchant-princess!

Is not the preparation of food woman's prerogative? But our country

is overrun with men made rich thereby; and alas! how poor are the almost countless women by whose labor they wax fat! Is it now too late for us to "Fly on the prey and take the prize"? It is not too late. Behold, I show you a way. One of Nature's deep secrets has been long sought for by these men food-preservers,—*how to can fruit without cooking it*,—and for the better part of half a century this has been the dream, the hope, the despair of men who saw how incalculable its value would be. I believe God held back that secret from them. He would not—he did not—reveal it till the time was ripe and the woman was ready.

But when the skilful tests applied by that eminent scientist, Dr. Cooley, of Vassar College, had demonstrated the principle she had perceived, and when her own arduous labors had brought difficult and tedious laboratory experiment down to the plain level certainty of easy and economic factory and family work, the poverty of women wage-workers confronted her, and the awful fact became evident that this great canning industry is a means of creating the very class her hoped-for revenues were to save. What remained to do but to lift up hands to Heaven and cry out, "Add to these great gifts yet another. Grant to me and to the world a Woman's Canning Company." And lo, after weary years the prayer is answered.

Fully and admirably organized, with a board of able and most ardent women directors, our Woman's Canning and Preserving Company of Chicago, Illinois, enters the field of competitive trade with one million dollars capital stock. It has exclusive right to the use of my inventions of process, apparatus, and preserving vessels for canning without cooking. It has as many rights to the use of my improved process for canning cooked goods as a woman's company could possibly handle.

We have not been three months safely organized; but we have one little plant running, and are putting up for the market one cooked product,—lunch tongue. So excellent is that product that our first samples furnished to the greatest wholesale house in America brought us an order that, unless we enlarge our works, we can hardly fill in three months. How will it be when we send out our strawberries swimming uncooked in their own juices,—no chemicals, mind you,—our peaches, our grapes, our new sweet wine, our numberless table-delicacies?

That which I lay before you is no scheme for the aggrandizement of a few. We want women stockholders in every town of the United States. We want factories in every county. We want our little twenty-five-dollar shares purchased by women wage-workers as well as by the wealthy and perhaps more educated class. Our expert lawyers tell us that we have an opportunity the like of which cannot be expected to come again in a century. They are right.

Upon this platform has daily appeared among you one of our honored directors, Mary Allen West. And here, too, other stockholders have

appeared. I would that they occupied every chair in Albaugh's Opera House, and were all aware of the glorious possibility their ample investments would transform to a glorious certainty. Then would go out from this Council a power that would yet reach a hundred thousand working-girls of to-day, and lift them high above the dangers of unguarded and badly-paid labor,—yes, and reach into the next century, and further, till the whole round world should learn the lesson that woman can grasp and maintain one of its greatest industries.

O grand National Council of Women, armed as we are to capture the very fortress and citadel of this enormous trade, we claim your recognition!

THE PRESIDENT. This is certainly the case of a woman that *can* (laughter), and I am glad that we have an inventor of our own here. It gives an added variety. I don't believe there will be any such word as fail with this lady's fruit.

And now, friends, I want to say why Miss Anthony is not here,—we feel sort of orphaned without her. The great Suffrage Convention begins to-morrow, and she and her lieutenants are in counsel together for final preparation.

Every one here has read the book of Edward Bellamy, "Looking Backward, or the year 2000." In it is what Edward Bellamy thinks that industrial reform will do for men and women. I had twenty-five thousand copies of this part printed to give to those that have come to the Council, —not because we shall indorse all that he says, but it is a thought-provoking article,—and you can take them as you go out. Attached thereto are petitions. Get them published in your local papers,—those that are of your way of thinking.

Rev. Amanda Deyo has an announcement to make.

REV. AMANDA DEYO. The Peace Commission will hold a meeting at the Church of Our Father, corner of L and Fourteenth Streets, to-morrow afternoon. It is to bring to the President's notice the fact that he has the power to make treaties with foreign countries solemnly pledging that we will settle no difficulties by war. We invite as many as can to be present.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1891.

Evening Session.

THE ORGANIZED WORK AND LIFE OF WOMEN.

AFTER music by the Philharmonic Quartette (Misses Meads, Law, Shepherd, and Stidman), Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens offered the opening prayer.

THE NATIONAL VALUE OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

ELLA DIETZ CLYMER. The Woman's Club as at present constituted is neither a political nor a religious institution. It attempts no direct reform, though it has been aptly called the "cradle of reforms." It is constructive rather than destructive, and aims to attain its ends by the slow and peaceful processes of evolution. Its power lies not in the whirlwind, nor in the earthquake, but in the word spoken with "the still small voice." Very simple are its methods, very humble its desires. As compared to the great organizations which stand for reform, we club women may seem to work within rather narrow limits, and yet, because of those very limitations, our work may in time grow to be world-wide in its effects, as a watercourse becomes more powerful when restrained and conserved for certain uses.

While honoring in my heart the noble pioneers who have fought and are still fighting the good fight of faith for the civil and religious advancement of women, I feel that the Providence on high which overrules the affairs of mankind is working in small ways as well as in great for the perfection of his handmaidens. The delicate revelations of the microscope may inspire worship in a devout soul as well as the expansive wonders revealed by the telescope.

If in the eyes of some of my hearers the beneficent influences of women's clubs seem so small and so hidden as to require microscopic aid to bring them within our consciousness, let me remind such sceptics and despisers of small things, that it is not to the great leviathan of the deep that we owe the herb-bearing land, but to the small coral insects who, while building their own tiny habitations with patient toil, lay the foundations of the solid earth which in due time becomes fitted for the dwelling-place of man. The claim of the woman's club to greatness rests upon the

fact that it has promoted the growth in character of numbers of somewhat conservative women. We cannot point to any great wrong righted, any vast philanthropic work accomplished; but we do know that women's clubs have achieved in a quiet way a noble change in women themselves, and therefore these organizations deserve their niche in the temple of woman's work.

As the representative of Sorosis, which has come to be regarded as the symbol of the club idea and which has been the chief inspirer of club organizations throughout the land, it will not be out of place for me to quote from our Act of Incorporation the objects for which we organized. In the second paragraph of that document may be found the following words: ". . . The particular or specific objects for which the said society shall be and is formed and incorporated, shall be and are hereby declared to be the promotion of agreeable and useful relations among women of literary, artistic, and scientific tastes; the discussion and dissemination of principles and facts which promise to exert a salutary influence on women and on society, and the establishment of an order which shall render the female sex helpful to each other, and actively benevolent in the world." We claim that in some measure we have fulfilled those objects which tend rather to develop women from within than to change by direct means any external condition of their environment.

Club life supplies in some degree the place of higher education to those women who have been deprived of the advantages of a college course. What college life is to the young woman, club life is to the woman of riper years, who amidst the responsibilities and cares of home-life still wishes to keep abreast of the times, still longs for the companionship of those who, like herself, do not wish to cease to be students because they have left school. The discipline of club life is many-sided. At our business meetings parliamentary usage is observed, and the discipline of working in accordance with its rules is a valuable lesson to many a woman who, ruling by divine right in her own home, has perhaps not yet learned to subordinate her will to the will of the majority. Speaking for myself, I would say that I look upon women's clubs as training-schools for that larger life which is inevitably coming to woman. Believing, as I do, that the time is fast approaching when woman will be called upon to take her part in the government of this Republic, if it ever shall attain to the high standard which our forefathers conceived for it, I hail the woman's club as a potent means to fit her for her destined work.

As a school for thought and training, every club is a national microcosm, a small republic in itself; it teaches, by means of a series of object-lessons, democratic methods and republican forms of government. The club was not originally designed for this purpose. No! we builded better than we knew; we organized with no ulterior plan, and many a club-

woman to-day, no doubt, would declare that, while she is wil g i ious to help govern a club, she has no desire to help govern c ry, and is not training herself with any such idea in Be t y, if the time should ever arrive when the country's peril l light the of patriotism within her breast, her club training will t l her good stead.

The club idea represents woman's craving *to be* rather than to do. She wishes to try cautiously her untried strength, to reach forward to new goals, to walk in any path in which the hand of the Creator shall beckon her. All things are conspiring to give her a new freedom, and the necessities of the hour demand that she shall use it. Woman is beginning to realize that the world *needs her*, and her motherly heart is responding to the call.

She is no longer satisfied with the limited sphere of her own domestic life or an endless round of frivolous social excitements. After she has established system and order in her own household, she feels that there are other spheres in life where she is needed, and which she needs to satisfy her desire to render herself helpful to others; therefore, club life is a boon to domestic women, and even society women are beginning to turn to it as a form of social life which also includes mental stimulus and true recreation.

The social value of women's clubs consists in the fact that qualifications for membership are real worth, mental and moral endowments, and not the extraneous circumstances of wealth or supposed social status. The membership of clubs is composed very largely of professional women who have the ability and energy to earn their own living, and who generally feel a noble pride in the fact that they so do. The worship of Mammon, of which the American Nation is too often justly accused, has no place in club life; rich and poor alike stand upon a perfect equality there; and let me state here that Sorosis, which has sometimes been accused by uninformed persons of being the fashionable extravagant New York club, has never raised its annual dues beyond the modest sum of five dollars a year; and this sum ought certainly not to be considered a prohibitive exaction, even by those who rely exclusively upon their own exertions for a livelihood.

Women's clubs are, I believe, invariably conducted on economical principles; they usually live well within their incomes and put by something for extra occasions. The adaptation of ways to means is perhaps not the least part of their valuable training. Women feel burdened with a peculiar sense of responsibility when the club funds are first intrusted to their care; however liberal and generous they may be with their own money, they incline to become conservative and almost parsimonious when intrusted with the custody of club moneys. I have heard it said by a club member, that in order to make a woman a miser it was only necessary to elect her to the office of treasurer of Sorosis.

This faculty of almost morbid c scientiousness concerning the disbursements of public moneys may o| en a new field of research to the social philosopher, since it seems to be an attribute peculiar to the female sex. In the moral composition of w(nan there appears to have been absorbed so large a share of probity, up ightness, and integrity as to leave no portion for the soul of man. At st, my observations concerning the use of public funds by office-holders in my own native city have led me to draw this conclusion. I have also been led to wonder why persons whose natural endowments give them no po r to discriminate between honesty and dishonesty should be placed in p sitions which above all things require a high sense of honor as an equipment for the duties of the office. Women do occasionally ponder on these things as far as their female mentality will allow, especially after a nunicipal election; then the mysterious and unfathomable ways of party politicians seem more inexplicable than ever, and we can only wonder, in dumb amazement, to see with what resignation good men can sometimes succumb to the powers of evil. Then we return to our little clubs and try to imagine what would become of us if such methods of misrule prevailed in our councils.

Time in the nineteenth century has grown to be very precious, and women are learning its value as well as the value of money. In an afternoon spent at a woman's club, one finds that even when time flies he leaves behind him some immortal memories to remind us of eternity. Every club-woman will bear me out when I say that some of the happiest memories of her life are connected with her club-work. The feeling of *camaraderie* that she has enjoyed during hours of social intercourse, the delight she has experienced in listening to music and dramatic readings, are ever-pleasant remembrances to her. The papers and discussions on science, art, literature, education, philanthropy, drama, or domestic affairs in which she has taken part, have acted as a stimulant to thought and directed her reading into wider channels. The old saying that "one-half the world does not know how the other half lives" is becoming obsolete, at least where women are concerned. It is now realized as a duty that we should know more of the trials and sufferings of our fellow-creatures, and, as far as possible, try to remove the causes of suffering.

It is always a satisfaction to earnest women to know what other women are doing and achieving; what obstacles they have encountered; what difficulties they have overcome. This knowledge often gives patience to bear burdens which one finds by comparison to be not altogether exceptional, but really part of the discipline of life.

I should very inadequately represent the claim of Sorosis to national value were I to omit to refer to two important organizations which have grown out of Sorosis. In the year 1887 Sorosis called a congress of

representative women, and from that congress the "Association for the Advancement of Women" dates its birth.

There can be no doubt that this organization has done a great deal to help form a liberal state of public opinion towards woman's place and work throughout the land.

It is difficult to measure the helpfulness of such gatherings of women as the Association for the Advancement of Women brings together every year. The name of its honored president, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, is too well known to need any extolling words from me. The name itself brings to mind a galaxy of noble qualities and womanly graces, and it is largely owing to the influence of Mrs. Howe's own personality that the ideal of American womanhood is such a lofty one.

The Association for the Advancement of Women, with its corps of able workers, is sowing good seed, and may its harvests be plenteous.

The second outgrowth of Sorosis is the "General Federation of Women's Clubs." This grew out of the convention of clubs which Sorosis called to celebrate its twenty-first anniversary. A constitution and by-laws were formally adopted and officers elected at the second convention held last spring. The General Federation has now ninety clubs in membership, representing twenty-six States of our Union, and includes our namesake the Sorosis Club of Bombay, which club links us to the women of India. The Bombay Sorosis has recently celebrated its first anniversary. It was founded by Dr. Emma Brainerd Ryder, of New York, and other American and English women. It already reports a membership of a hundred and fifty, the majority of whom are native Indian women. Thus women are clasping hands around the globe. It is not yet a quarter of a century since women's clubs began to be, and now they are looked upon as an American institution, and are recognized as influences for good, not only by members but by the thoughtful-minded of both sexes.

Dr. William H. Holcombe, in writing on heavenly marriage, basing his theories on the teachings of Swendenborg, says,—

"Woman is capable of absorbing and reflecting the entire understanding of man, so that her intellectual faculties shall be identical with his. Man is capable of rising to the loftiest height of woman's love."

Judging from the genius which woman has suddenly developed in the direction of organization, it would seem as though she must have absorbed the result of all man's experience throughout the past ages, and enriched herself at the expense of his failures and shortcomings. Be that as it may, it is a fact upon which we may congratulate ourselves, that American womanhood with its many organized bodies is a new force in the world, and is speedily being recognized as such. While the nations of Europe are training their men as soldiers, arming them and building defences

along their borders, taxing their peoples and draining their treasuries to supply engines of destruction by land and sea, it is a satisfaction to know that on this side of the world a greater power is at work, and that thousands of women are using their forces in directions that make for peace,—"Peace on earth, good-will to men." It is the song of the angels that echoes in the heart of the awakened woman, and she strives

> "With hand and body and blood,
> To make her bosom counsel good;
> For he who feeds men serveth few,
> He serves all who dares be true."

In being true to her diviner self, woman uplifts the world. Increase of knowledge has brought with it increasing love and sympathy. Ruskin's dream of queenly woman is being realized. "The playing at precedence with her next-door neighbor" is being renounced for nobler and higher aims. Woman is coming into her kingdom and establishing therein the reign of righteousness and peace. Her life is expanding beyond the confines of her own home and her own social circle into the great, broad plain of life beyond. She has left the lilies and roses blooming in the garden closed behind her, to walk into the wilderness and meet face to face the suffering of which she has hitherto only heard; but wherever she goes it is love that leads her, it is love that guides and protects her. With that armor she is safe, with that weapon she will come forth victorious.

DIFFICULTIES AND DELIGHTS OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

HESTER M. POOLE. For one moment I wish to speak of the ability of women to work together in unanimity, and to give, in refutation of those who deny such ability, the example of this Council of Women. Those who are, even in slight measure, acquainted with the officers of this Council will agree with the statement that nowhere on the face of the globe can be found persons of more positive and pronounced individuality than Miss Willard, Miss Anthony, Miss Eastman, Mrs. Sewall, and Mrs. M. L. Thomas, together with the presidents and delegates of the affiliated organizations.

During the election of officials whose terms of office will extend over the next four years, at which, as delegate, I was privileged to attend, there was exhibited complete expression of opinion, yet complete unanimity of feeling. It might well be expected that during the consideration of complex and multiform interests, there might be—indeed, there would be—clashing of views and rivalry of privileges, yet during the long session for the purpose of election not one woman present gave utterance to an inharmonious expression. One after another listened to her peers, balanced arguments, weighed objections, and generously conceded to others that which she asked not for herself. Business proceedings, in-

volving rights of organizations in all sections of our country, were conducted in a spirit of justice and nobility. At all times there was evident a consecration to the highest good of the highest number, which is rare as it is beautiful. Each vied with each in appreciation of unselfish work. It was a memorable scene, and one prophetic of the day when Love shall correlate Wisdom, when tenderness shall wreathe with beauty the thews of strength, and I am assured that since the formation of this Council not one word has been spoken which could cause a ripple of inharmony or sting of regret.

Before the advent of Sorosis, in countless homes women dwelt in isolation and with no more cohesion or unity of purpose than sands upon the shore. Whatever longings for companionship they may have had, whatever impulsions to rise to higher levels of life, whatever desires to be helped and to be helpful, only the angels who had charge of them can ever know. Pinched and narrow were their lives, poor and dumb, yet they aspired for something larger than they had ever known; they wanted light as well as sweetness; like Gloriana, in Mrs. Whitney's story, they might have wistfully exclaimed, "How many good times there are in the world and I'm not in 'em!" But the good times are coming.

When Sorosis sailed upon its *tentative* voyage into a realm of unexplored possibilities, it was greeted by spectators along the shore with amusement, curiosity, and derision; one by one other little sails were spread to catch the uncertain breeze, but few, at first, asked to be taken on board. And now behold, a goodly squadron, conveying noble crews and right womanfully manned, and the heavens are blue, while Nature smiles along the verdurous shores.

These things are true because the old order changes. Social evolution is a proved truth. The enthroned dolls of womankind are losing their sawdust; we breathe an electric vitality. "I went to a Sorosis meeting the other day," said a society woman in New York, "and nothing ever impressed me so much. The fraternity, the versatility, and spontaneity of those women was a revelation. A new life tingled through me from head to foot; my horizon broadens." This *vibrant* sympathy of heart to heart among masses of women is something new. That we can preserve our individualities yet harmonize with others, and so understand each other's natures as we work as one for the purification and elevation of social life, is the result of a discovery within the subjective realm as grand as any made by Edison within the objective. It is the result of the acquaintance of woman with her own nature and the nature of others.

Through it she learns the meaning of sisterhood, and rises into the judicial, the impersonal. Here what Emerson calls "the goitre of egotism" is diagnosed and cured, morbid self-consciousness and sickly senti-

mentality vanish, and sanity and reason are restored. To th clubs are educational.

From an inchoate planet, one not yet grown into a perfec perturbations are expected. Around its orbit the matured and ha planet swings in rhythmic music, true to the laws of its being. youthful globe, where cyclones and earthquakes' shocks mark its uous career, there are mental and moral oscillations, of which the external symbols.

With that tender love which she shrouds in her heart of he affection which is the divine essence of her being, woman sha balancing power upon our earth. It shall be ripened and compl when man and woman, side by side, shall consecrate their noble to the universal good.

> "Distrust the one who tells you to distrust;
> He takes the measure of his own small soul,
> And thinks the world no larger."

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order is "The Moral Inf Women's Associations," by Charlotte Emerson Brown, of Ne president of the Federation of Clubs.

THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

CHARLOTTE EMERSON BROWN. I come before you in no o pacity, but as an individual, to speak, by request of your comr the Moral Influence of Women's Associations. I stand now fc of them in particular, but for all in general. It is well for once these organizations together, for they are all parts of a comm ment, and up to certain limits, where their ways seem to part terests and aims are one.

Whence came they? Three hundred years ago the frosts an of ignorance, superstition, and semi-barbarism, that for ages nigh entombed the world, began to melt away. Mind, in favored nations, began to awake from its long slumber. Tl since, it is true, been eddies and counter-currents in the great progress, so that many have felt, at times, that the tide was sett ward. But these counter-indications have been all on the su local, while the deep undertow has been ever moving towards and truer civilization. During these centuries everything has By reason of schools, the printing-press, steam, electricity, agencies, governments, religion, literature, science, and even c itself, have been recreated. God in these latter days has bee all things new, a new heaven and a new earth, wherein shall d eousness.

Nowhere have these great and gradual changes been more m

wonderful than in their relations to woman. She is being raised from a position of insignificance and irresponsibility to one of prominence and power. It is but lately that this great movement in behalf of woman has come fully to the surface and been recognized as a sociological fact. Education, under God, is the chief power that has wrought her emancipation.

Fifty years ago the idea prevailed that education for girls, except to a limited extent, of a superficial character, was a waste of time and money. That view was not often expressed in words, and the multitude were, probably, unaware that it existed in their own minds. They gave the subject no thought. In the Old World this same idea still largely obtains. A celebrated Englishman recently visited Wellesley College, and, on seeing hundreds of college-girls in the chapel at devotions, said to a professor, "What is the good to the girls of all this college training? I don't see that it improves their chances." To his mind the chief end of woman was marriage. There is some truth in his view, but a half-truth is usually the greatest of falsehoods.

In this country the old, narrow, and debasing conception of woman's sphere, and of the training she needs to meet it successfully, is largely a thing of the past. It is now conceded, or begins to be, that girls should be educated equally with boys. Colleges of a higher order for girls are springing up in all directions. Many colleges, especially in the West, open their doors equally to both sexes; and most of the Eastern Universities have now at least an annex for the college training of girls. Co-education will soon become the rule.

The noble men and women who began and encouraged this work of higher education for girls "builded better than they knew," for out of this quickening and enlargement of the minds of women has sprung, directly or indirectly, the whole system of women's organizations for woman's advancement and efficiency in the world. When the girls were educated they began to feel their restraints, and also a consciousness of power. They looked into the old theories that had for ages kept half the race in a condition of irresponsible "desuetude." They saw the error and felt the wrong. A power from God came upon them, and, like Samson, they broke the withes that held them in bondage. For a time, of course, there was agitation and opposition, and this alike from men and women.

No established order of things was ever changed without a struggle. It is the glory of this change that it has come about quietly and with no din of war. Ridicule, sarcasm, and stale adverse argument have been used in abundance; but the victory is won, and women, equally with men, are on the high-road to knowledge. Knowledge is power, by whomsoever it is possessed and rightly used.

I repeat, women's organizations, and their various lines grown largely out of that changed public sentiment tha value of thorough education for girls and boys alike. E think, confer together, and then organize for work along d opportunity, inclination, and sense of duty dictate. It women, as they break from the old order of things and new inspiration, do not organize for work in the same dir this would defeat the great end that is set before them. pathies and interests should be as broad as the world, a one-sided, and partisan. And yet to secure efficiency the centrated action. Naturally, therefore, women of certain cies, environments, and personal interests have joined i to promote what they have most at heart and are best fitte

This Council is called to consider the work, not of l tional organizations by and for women; and they can scores. We have in the United States at least thirty gener of women for foreign missions, embracing thousands o work for the elevation and Christianization of women in For home missionary work women are equally organized. Missionary Associations, Home and Foreign, have nearly d the sums of money previously contributed; and in the s the number of workers. What a moral power is here! ganizations by women have grown to gigantic proportions, point of view, are now chiefly relied upon to carry forw overthrow of saloons and kindred agencies that are cursin

What would the temperance movement be with wom organizations left out of it? The Association for the Women and the General Federation of Women's Clubs b tellectual, literary, social, and moral improvement. The the pioneer organization in its line of work, and by its addresses given at annual meetings, and in other ways, ha women's culture and general elevation.

Women's literary clubs number hundreds, and bri mutual improvement not only women who are trained ferent fields, but with them a large number of women would find little to do, and so would make but little imp club is a school for post-graduates. What the local club who compose it the General Federation is to the local educational power where education is most needed, and increase possibilities and to inspire high aims. Already the number of efficient workers in every field of woman's

Societies in behalf of equal suffrage are among the persistent of women's organizations. It is claimed that

ment of women would purify politics and consummate needed reforms. The experiment will doubtless be fairly tried, and the disputed question will then be settled as to whether the entrance of women into politics will bring them down to the existing political level, or will exalt politics to woman's high moral standard.

But I cannot even catalogue these national organizations of women. They are many, and each has its own field and works in its own way for woman's enlargement. They develop women as the photographer's process does the image on his prepared plate. At first there comes over it a faint shadow; then dark, irregular forms appear; and a moment later the whole picture in perfect outline and detail comes out from the mist, a thing of beauty. Women's minds and hearts are brought out, clarified, and made beautiful by means of their various organizations that act on them as developers.

Viewing these associations as a whole, the first fact that claims attention is, that they are all grouped around moral centres. Those that promote intellectual and social improvement have moral ends as their ulterior purpose. Morality, based on moral principles inwrought with the human soul, lies at the foundation of all that is great and good in the world. To promote morality, which is but another term for practical Christianity, is, first of all, woman's exalted mission. Here she sits enthroned as a queen, and the world does her reverence. What society in all its branches most needs is moral renovation; and this can be secured only by moral means. Woman's work is to create and uphold correct moral sentiment; for moral sentiment is everywhere the controlling power. Vice never hides itself or flees away until a strong moral sentiment rises against it and makes its continuance impossible. So long as public sentiment supports a wrong, that wrong will continue its desolations, legislate as we may; moral means, and no others, are adapted to moral ends. Should women forget this fundamental fact in carrying on their organized work, they would be shorn of their strength. But they have not forgotten, and will not, for this, naturally, is woman's fortress. From it she goes forth to attack evil, and to it she brings the rewards of victory.

The moral influence of women's organizations is seen along several lines, and nowhere more strikingly than in the effects they produce on the women themselves. How have women been changed in intellectual power, in ability to accomplish, and in relative position by reason of organized and combined endeavor? At the beginning they were ridiculed, opposed, called strong-minded, and other epithets were applied that are now almost forgotten. Women through organized work have now a consciousness of strength, an independence of action, a confidence in themselves, and a determination to do what, in the circumstances, ought to be done, such as women never had till now. They not only

have this consciousness of power, but they are using it in all
It is conceded in schools and colleges where co-education exists
women in all departments of scholarship are the equals of y
Most educated women are now engaged in some kind of orgar

I am personally most familiar with the literary club mover
local and also in its federated capacity. And here I know
correct thing" to be in membership. Society women, through
ence, are being revolutionized in their tastes and habits of life.
of capable but undeveloped women have, through these org
been waked up to a new sense of possibility, of hope, and
purpose. I know women who a few years ago were afraid of
voices, but now, by study and practice, they have acquired
thought, an elegance of diction, and a fascination of address
ishes themselves not less than it does their friends. These dif
ciations are training-schools for women, and are fitting them
endeavor in the interests of morality than they have previou
upon. An army of efficient women is being raised up in the
tions fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and, to evil-doers, te
army with banners.

Now, does the moral power end with its influence on
workers? It is in a sense contagious, and so it inspires and i
hearts of other women who are outside of organizations, an
their zeal and efficiency in every good work. Women are no l
they have been. They are waking up all along the line, a
largely to women's organizations, a new era begins to daw
moral ideas are in the ascendant. Women's organizations do
themselves on women; they reach and move men also. Wo
dition has been greatly changed in the last twenty-five years
estimation and that of men. Taunts, jeers, and merriment at
of women who go beyond attendance at sewing-circles have r
among persons of low associations, ceased. Instead of censu
who seek to be and to do something in the world now find
ment and generous sympathy. This would not be so had
turned from the beaten track of ages, struck out new lines
proved themselves qualified for their new positions, and so
men—yes, and women too—that they could do well what they
and that their influence was greatly needed. Had they not
their place to-day would be essentially what it was fifty years a

Nothing succeeds like success. Men and women rise or fa
Men are nobler and stronger to-day because of what wome
their organizations, are doing for themselves and the worl
excelling men in certain lines of work. Hence it is that me
to women, and ask them to do what, a few years ago, they

considered impossible, or, if possible, quite improper. Women now hold prominent positions in almost every department of Christian civilization. Press associations, composed of women engaged in journalism and in authorship, show that these places are no longer occupied exclusively by men. Many of our best writers and most successful journalists are women. In the professions women are now largely represented. In medicine they are almost as numerous, or soon will be, as are men; in certain departments of practice they equal if they do not excel them.

Women are crowding into the legal profession, into the work of the Christian ministry, and as public lecturers they are now prominent. It begins to be seen that women more than men possess naturally the oratorical temperament. As teachers, and in college professorships, their fitness and success are universally conceded. If any public enterprise is to be undertaken for educational or benevolent ends, the work of collecting funds and of superintendence is thrown upon women; and as for church building and support, and in missionary enterprises, men would give up in despair if women did not come to the rescue. In the approaching Columbian Exposition, women, equally with men, are called to share in the management. Turn where we will, look along all lines of business, enter stores, business colleges, hospitals, and go even to battle-fields, and we find women everywhere. Recently it was far otherwise.

Could all these lines of moral influence, flowing largely from women's organizations, be gathered, as may the rays of the sun, into a common focus, their moral brilliancy would approach the resplendent glory of the king of day.

But what women's organizations have done in the past is only the prelude and pledge of what they are yet to achieve. They are increasing in number, in membership and influence, every day. And they no longer go forth under the ban of disfavor, but under the waving banners of applause. What their moral influence will be when the twentieth century dawns who can say, except that it will double what it is to-day.

And, yet, are women's organizations a finality? and do they mark the highest stage of human progress? Their influence and place for the present are unmistakable. They have yet much to do for the advancement of women, for the exposure of error, for the dethronement of vice, and for the general ongoing of Christian civilization. In the not distant future women may be compelled, not as a right to be claimed, but in the performance of patriotic and religious duty, to descend into the turbid pool of politics, and there at the ballot-box help to turn the nation from the vortex of ruin towards which, by reason of unprincipled partisan politics, it may be drifting. It would not be the first time that woman's moral purpose and self-sacrifice have helped to save a nation.

But in the final and perfected adjustment of society, men and women

will not organize by themselves and apart from each other. In that good time coming the sexes will see that their real interests are all in common, and that to secure them they must organize and work together. Then all antagonisms and rivalries will have ceased. Intellectual and moral power, fitness for position, and not the circumstance of sex, will determine what place man or woman shall occupy. They will organize and work together for common ends. When plans for work are thus adjusted, women will then, as now, be, first of all, the guardians of home; for the home is the underlying institution of this world, and its value to Christian civilization is greater than that of any other, if not all others combined. With home inviolable and secure, civilization advances; without this, have what else we may, civilization cannot exist.

The chief objection to woman's organized and broadening work has been, that it endangers the home by diverting from it the interest and care that are essential to its well-being. If it did this, the objection would be vital. What it does do is to qualify mothers to do more and better work for their families than would otherwise be possible. Noble example is far better than cold precept, and infinitely better than aimless, undisciplined, or frivolous life. A comparison of households would vindicate the wisdom of women's organizations. Example is the highest and strongest moral influence. If a mother would train her child wisely, she must be herself what she would like it to become. Woman's instinct and moral sense may be trusted to protect her home.

If women in the last quarter of a century have wrought so mightily in their own behalf, and for the world, apart from men, what may we expect to see accomplished when men and women unite in common organizations, and work together on the high plane of moral and Christian integrity for the common weal? Then will go up the shout of victory. In that day the New Jerusalem shall come down from God out of heaven, and his tabernacle shall be with men.

THE PRESIDENT. The next in order is Florence Balgarnie, of London, England, the representative of the British Women's Temperance Association, and Women's Trades-Unions. Her subject is, "What Organization has Done for English Women." We who greeted her in such rousing fashion will rejoice to hear again her cheering voice. The audience will be glad to know that she has more time than any other person, a courtesy we extend our friends from across the briny. (To Miss Balgarnie.) You have thirty minutes.

WHAT ORGANIZATION HAS DONE FOR ENGLISH WOMEN.

MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE. Madam President, ladies, and gentlemen,—I do indeed feel the very kind courtesy extended to me as a stranger, but I hope I shall not trespass too long on this especially kind favor.

I have been asked to speak on what organization has done for English women. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that organization has done for English women very much what it has done for American women. It has extended our sympathy, increased our self-respect, developed activity, courage, and comradeship, and enthusiasm for the needs and wants of others. But you will forgive me if I say, and I say it in no spirit of flattery, that I think from what I have seen of American women that organization has taught them more of real religious toleration and sisterly love. Organization has enabled women to become a power in England.

We have, as you all know, lately gone through a great political crisis in connection with Mr. Parnell and the Irish affairs. When the results of that suit were first made known in England, the editors of the leading newspapers hesitated; they did not know what their party leaders might wish, or what their party leaders might think; and even before our great leader, that "grand old man," Mr. Gladstone (applause), had given his opinion, I am proud to say that English women had, through the newspaper press, by letters, and on the platform, declared that a man who was guilty of perfidy in private life was not fit to be a public leader in our country.

Now, as representing various societies, I will briefly sketch the various phases which organization has taken. I can to-night enumerate only four: they are temperance organizations, local government organizations, political organizations, and last, but not least (for my heart is more in this than in any other), trades-unions associations for the working-women of the country. In our temperance organization we have learned much from America. So far as I can observe, we in England are, I regret to think it, a much more drunken nation than you are. I do not see the same number of public-houses in this favored land. I am afraid, although we have four hundred women's associations, that we have not done what you have. The reason is this, that we are under an aristocratic form of government, and these people have a vested interest in the drink traffic; and until our nation becomes more thoroughly democratized, we fear we shall not succeed in suppressing the drink traffic. But we have succeeded through our women's organizations in limiting the drinking-saloons and in reducing the number of licenses granted to the sellers of drink. Also, when our conservative government, within two years, attempted to endow the publicans at the expense of the people, we women assembled with men in Hyde Park, and on the platforms of that park protested against the injustice. I am glad to say that we had a citizen of this city with us on that occasion, and right good service did she do us! I refer to Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, who, last spring, stood with us upon our platform and pleaded for the cause of temperance as opposed to the endowment of the drinking-saloon.

In our local government we have developed, but not like your Wyoming, which has given the parliamentary vote to women. But we do not despair. We work on, and we have been working for nearly a quarter of a century, and we shall go on working until we obtain that vote. Somebody during the evening has said that "nothing succeeds like success." Now, I find that sometimes there is nothing so successful as a thorough, good defeat. It puts fresh courage and fresh strength into men and women to be beaten. Well, we have been beaten! We have tried many a time through our political organizations to obtain the vote, and we have been defeated. But we are like an old woman I once knew. She was an old Yorkshire woman, one of the sturdy old sort that is passing away. In the course of her long life she had had in succession three husbands. When husband number three was dead, I went to condole with her, and I said the platitudes usual on such occasions. But after I had exhausted myself by shouting into her very deaf ear, she turned upon me and said, "Oh, my dear, don't take on so; I am used to burying husbands." (Laughter.) And sure enough, when I called upon this good lady some six months after, she had just taken unto herself husband number four! Now, we are very much in this same condition. If we have been defeated with our bill for obtaining the parliamentary franchise for women, as each year comes round we reintroduce it, and we shall reintroduce it until we get a bill which enfranchises woman.

But this struggle for the vote has done much for us. We women of Great Britain now possess all the votes which men possess, except the parliamentary vote. We have the right to vote at seven elections which deal with the school boards, municipal government, local government, poor-law government,—in fact, we have a right to declare what men shall expend the rates and taxes which we have to contribute. Moreover, we may be elected to serve upon the school boards, and a large number of women serve in that capacity. What is more, the men urge us to do it. It is not so many years ago that a representative of the Men's Liberal Association (what is called the Men's Liberal Four Hundred) did me the honor to wait upon me and ask me to run with the men as a candidate for the school board. I am glad to say that generally men are welcoming the women in this respect. In the few places where they do not, women possess sufficient voting power to return their own women candidates, irrespective of the men. I can point to a recent case of a friend of mine, where the men, having refused to support a woman candidate, were, as the poll advanced, only too glad to obtain the superfluous votes of the women, because the woman candidate had received enough and was at the head of the poll.

We are now in the midst of a great struggle in England. We have lately obtained the vote for the County Councils, which, though, of

course, not so important, are analogous to your State and Territorial governments. We have lately obtained the power of voting for those governments. And more, a few of us women headed by the candidates of Aberdeen were determined to carry our own women candidates, and we carried two County Councils and elected a third; but the defeated gentleman who had been rejected at the polls brought a lawsuit and turned out Lady Sandhurst, who had been placed at the head of the poll, and was himself placed in her stead. Another defeated candidate sued Miss Jane Cobden, a daughter of Richard Cobden, and she has been forced to pay a fine of something like six hundred dollars—for doing what? Simply for doing as her constituents told her,—voting in the County Council of London. This is a question which, I rejoice to say, is arousing good men and good women all over the country; and, as defeat points finally to success, it will lead in time to the greatest victory women have ever accomplished in our country.

In regard to political organization, I am going to speak only for the Liberals. The Conservatives have huge organizations; I believe some half-million women are in the Primrose League. But I am a thoroughgoing Liberal, and I am not going to represent that organization. The Liberal League, the Liberal Federation, is smaller in numbers, but it is big in brains, big in enthusiasm, and big in courage. It includes some one hundred and forty associations under their respected president, Mrs. W. E. Gladstone. What these associations do may interest you. Like you, we have our annual meetings, when some three hundred to four hundred delegates from all parts of the country assemble in London. We conduct our business very much like the House of Commons; we have our divisions leaving the house, and we have our tellers; and, like the House of Commons, we have some quarrels now and then. What is more, we are beginning to have a power in constituencies. Sometimes it will happen that the men of a constituency will elect a man for Parliament, and he will very well please the men, but it may happen that when he comes before the Woman's Liberal Association, and they hear him talk and ask him questions, they may not be so well pleased with him as the men are.

Only the other day, just before leaving London, I attended a meeting of women and took part in questioning a candidate. We had two resolutions ready, one pledging to canvass for him and work for him and speak for him; and the other merely to thank him for his speech. This good gentleman, as it happens, was not in favor of suffrage for women, and so, instead of passing the resolution supporting him, we merely passed the resolution thanking him. And I assure you that he looked no little discomfited.

We also are able to hold many lectures and meetings, and we do not

despise sewing-meetings. Some of the associations send thousands of dollars' worth of clothing to the poor evicted Irish tenants who are in such dire distress. Moreover, sometimes—now I do not suppose this would ever happen here, in such a rich country—do you know that in England the men build magnificent club-houses for their political associations, and they have not the money to pay for them? What we women sometimes do is to have a bazaar, and I have known them to raise as much as $25,000 to pay the debts which the men had incurred in their clubs. (Laughter.) I do not regret it, because it is a very good thing to put men under an obligation; and then we look to them in return to elect condidates to Parliament who will give a straight, manly, honorable vote which shall give the Parliamentary vote to women.

There is hardly an election which takes place in England now but the wire-pullers write up to London, or some other important city, saying, "Send us down the best woman speaker you can to help our candidate through." The women who do not speak go down in numbers, and they canvass,—a very bad system, indeed. Unfortunately, we do it; that is, we go from house to house. We poor women who are not fit to give a vote go around and call upon Mr. Jones, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Brown, and ask them to come to the polls. We are not bright enough to vote; but we are so bright that we can go and educate the men politically, and bring them up to the polls. (Applause.) Now, of course we think this a very ridiculous and anomalous state of things, and even the House of Commons is beginning to see it. We have a majority in the House of Commons pledged to support our claims.

Now, lastly, though, as I said, not least, I come to the question nearest to my heart,—which is the banding together of the poor wage-earning women who are defenceless in their present unorganized condition. I have been very much struck by a paragraph which appeared this morning in the Washington *Post*. Allow me to read it: "Dear ladies," it says, "do not forget the wage-earning women. Devise some plan for helping and bettering this large class of your sisters." Now, I feel, and I know that all the good women on the platform feel, that that is one of the most vitally important questions with which we have to deal. I am somewhat acquainted with the returns, by Mr. Carroll D. Wright in his valued book, about the condition of the working-women in the State of New York; and I see with regret that the underpaying and overworking of women is not confined to England and the older countries of Europe. Depend upon it, if this country is to keep up its grandeur, and if our country, England, is to keep up its grandeur, we must see that even the lowest and the poorest and the feeblest in our midst have some organization upon which they can stand. Now we are doing something, though that something is not as great as I could wish it to be.

Only a few months ago there came to the little office which we have set up in the Whitechapel Road,—that dreadful road in the east end of London,—there came to that office a young widow. She had been working with many other women in a factory for many years at a wage of something under four dollars a week. But suddenly, without any given reason, her master reduced that wage to two dollars and fifty cents, and she came out with the other women, hoping to find better work, but failed. She belonged to no trades-union; she had no one to help her, and she came up the stairs to our little room, and said, "I cannot go home; I have been pacing the street the whole day and I cannot go home, because I have three little children there, and I cannot bear to hear them cry for bread." That is the condition of the unorganized working-women of England. But I am glad to say that better days are coming. We have some organizations formed, and we are going on rapidly forming others. In one city in Scotland they have at the present moment five thousand women in one trades organization, with a balance in the bank of ten thousand dollars. In other towns they have smaller organizations. In London, the most difficult of all cities to work, we are forming unions among the confectioners, the umbrella-makers, the rope-makers, and, what is more, in some of these organizations we have been able to raise the underpaid and overworked women to a better plane, although we have had to go through all the difficulties of a prolonged strike.

I am glad to say that the labor leaders, whom I have the honor of knowing, such as John Burns, are on the side of women, and right noble service do they do us. During this winter we have had sixteen weeks of frost; and, in spite of that, one hundred women were out of work, rope-making women, standing all day long from morning to night at the door of their factory doing picket duty to persuade other persons not to go in and take their places. Though those women were starving, living on a miserable pittance, there they stood in their scanty shawls at the cold corner of the street, some with babies in their arms, for sixteen weeks. Some of them had been earning only two cents an hour. There they stood asking that their wages might be raised to four cents an hour. Though they did not obtain all they asked, they have obtained much; and at the end of sixteen weeks they were able to return to work under highly-bettered conditions.

Now, I ask you, as I ask myself, to take the cause of the working-women to heart. It is a sacred cause, it is a noble cause, it is a cause in which all may unite with heart and hand. And oh, I do feel in coming here, that we women in England and you women in America are joining in one great international movement. The time is coming when we shall not hear the word "enemy," nor the word "foreigner;" we shall all be one,

working for the great cause of humanity and the uplifting of the lowest and the feeblest. If there are any here who do not yet feel their hearts throbbing with the love for others, with the desire to hold out a hand to raise up the fallen, I do ask you to join the organization, and in doing so you will bless not others alone but yourselves.

"Woman! it yet remains
For us to cast aside the chains
Of false tradition, marring womanhood.
Men! be it yours to help us on to good;
The race is in its manhood,
Leave behind the jealousies of childhood,
Strive to find—each—an ideal nobler and more grand!
Think not that women, gaining their demand,
Will cast their dower, gentlemen, aside,
Or love thee less because they understand,
But rise and say, 'Henceforth
We woo perfection hand in hand.'"

THE PRESIDENT. The Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition will now present to us the woman's point of view of that great enterprise. Mrs. Potter Palmer, of Chicago, President of the Board, will speak, and will introduce the other ladies of the Commission.

THE BOARD OF LADY MANAGERS OF THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

BERTHA HONORE PALMER. During the session in Chicago of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Commission in November last, a telegram was received from your Secretary inviting the Board to send a delegate to this meeting of the Women's Council. The Board did me the honor to appoint me its representative, and I came to listen and learn in this assembly of women of broad views and high ideals, and I feel assured that the purposes of our Board will be greatly furthered by our having been put in sympathetic touch with the leaders of thought in the various departments of woman's work. I thank you heartily for the courtesy so cordially extended, and especially for being allowed to interrupt for a few moments the course of your interesting exercises to say a few words about what the Board of Lady Managers proposes to do at the Exposition.

A magnificent site has been assigned us, and two hundred thousand dollars appropriated for the construction of the Woman's Building, which will undoubtedly be kept as a permanent memorial of woman's work after the Fair is over. In it all women's organizations and convocations will find a home. This building is to be designed by a woman, competitive sketches having already been advertised for from the women architects of the country; three prizes of one thousand, five hundred, and two hundred and fifty dollars, respectively, being offered for the three best designs.

We hope, by thus calling attention to the work of women in architecture, to aid them to occupy a field which naturally belongs to them, that of domestic architecture, for every man spoils many houses while he is gradually being educated by the women for whom he builds to know what is required in a home.

We shall try to provide in this building for all possible wants of women, having in view a Bureau of Information, with interpreters and guides for strangers, parlors, and balconies where ladies may rest and chat, an exhibitor's club-room, a model kitchen, where demonstration lessons may be given, we hope, without charge, a loan exhibit of Colonial, Old Dutch, Scandinavian, and other relics, recalling the early history of our country and the various nationalities from which we are sprung, and also of objects developed in the home by the taste of woman. One wing of the building will possibly be devoted to showing the reform and charitable organizations originated and carried on by women, and the other to the exhibit which will be sent by our auxiliary associations formed through the instrumentality of our foreign ministers in the countries to which they are accredited, and by means of which we shall be enabled to indicate the condition and attainments of women in every part of the world. We shall have also an Administration Room, Committee Rooms, and an Assembly Room for all lectures, congresses, and assemblies which may be desired by women. In the main gallery there will probably be special exhibits of the most brilliant achievements of woman's hand and brain; these will doubtless be, in many cases, duplicates of objects entered for competition in the general exhibit under the regular classification, the duplicates being placed in our building, to emphasize the fact that they are the work of women.

In reading a list of the organizations represented here, it occurred to me that we might obtain also a most unusual exhibit from the missionary stations in the inaccessible and unfrequented parts of the earth, and I beg the ladies representing missionary societies to realize that they may aid both themselves and us by showing the life and work of women in heathen countries. If a child-widow, for instance, from a *zenana*, could be brought with her native dress and surroundings, and the suffering and inhumanity to which she is subjected shown, it would arouse such an interest in the subject as years of talk would not produce. The native weaving, pottery, ornaments, costumes, household utensils, etc., from these countries would also be of the greatest interest and value.

We are fortunate in thus being able to present our plans and to ask nothing from the ladies but their sympathetic co-operation, and an expression of their views as to how the cause of woman may best be served; our building and its facilities being offered free of charge to all the women of the country.

For the first time in our history, the mothers, wives, and daughters of America have been permitted to assist in the management of an important national enterprise, and have been allowed the high but demoralizing privilege of slipping their fingers into the national purse, in order that they might prepare an object-lesson showing the progress of woman during the century in which educational and other privileges have been accorded her. We wish to show that with the enlargement of her opportunities her sphere has extended and broadened, until she now works successfully in almost every field heretofore given up exclusively to man, that she can do many things and do them all well, and that there are no intellectual heights she cannot scale. Hers are essentially the arts of peace and progress, and her best work is shown in the reforms she has had the courage and the ideality to inaugurate against time-honored wrongs, both legislative and social, and in the gradual elevation of the standard of morality.

We feel the necessity of showing this beautiful influence and the advance which it has caused, but are handicapped by the fact that the most valuable part is spiritual, and that it is difficult to show progress in abstract things except by a mass of statistics, which become significant only when intelligently and sympathetically read. Will you not aid us with your experience and thought to show woman's work as a beautiful whole, with its animating spirit, and not as a mere mass of material things? We wish the World's Fair of 1893 to be memorable as a great exhibition, greater than any which ever preceded it, but we also wish its history to be a golden page in the annals of woman's advancement.

We urgently request, therefore, that each organization represented here appoint a committee of five of its most able women to consider the work we are trying to do for our sex at the Fair, and to present to us at an early date their suggestions and advice as to how we may best accomplish the great end we have in view, and to inform us in what manner their associations will be able to co-operate with our Board in its work; and we ask that they send their suggestions, applications for space, etc., to our headquarters in Chicago, where they will be gladly received and most carefully considered and acted upon.

The Board of Lady Managers, in reciprocation of the hospitality and fraternal feeling shown it, has great pleasure in asking that when the members of this distinguished body and the many associations here represented visit the coming Exposition, as of course they will, they at once make themselves known to the representatives of our Board, who will be glad to receive and welcome them in the Woman's Building, where every convenience and facility for their comfort will be provided. The Board also most cordially and pressingly invites this Council to hold its International meeting in Chicago at the time of the Columbian Exposition, when it will

place at the service of the ladies the Assembly-Room in the Woman's Building, and should that not prove large enough, through our Congress Auxiliary, the magnificent Auditorium can be secured for the meeting of the International Council of Women.

At the close of her address, Mrs. Palmer gave notice that all women's organizations would have room provided for them in the Woman's Building, and the attendant expenses for printing, clerks' work, etc., would be defrayed.

She then introduced Virginia C. Meredith.

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

VIRGINIA C. MEREDITH. During the past four days this Council has been hearing of great and grand reforms,—supreme aims,—hearing of the final things that are to make the millennium. We have seen, as it were, the glittering pinnacle of a spire suspended in mid-air, and we are bade to finish the temple,—to build the turrets, to design the windows, to rear the walls, to make the floors, and to put in the great foundation-stones. I am sure I will not be misunderstood when I venture to say that the Columbian Exposition is destined to be one of the masterful forces that will hasten the millennium, but its work begins with the other end of the edifice; its influence will be the strong, homely foundation, that mayhap shall be laid so deep as to be beyond the sight of mortal eye, but none the less solid and true. I refer to a new and consecrated use of money made possible and probable by the admission of women to the industrial field, and the Exposition will set new and broad bounds to this field.

Money is the very best of all the inventions of man, and because it is so, the pursuit of it absorbs his best thought, engages his keenest energies and most earnest efforts. Men have, however, desecrated money since as well as before St. Paul declared that the love of it is the root of all evil. Is it unreasonable to hope, is it visionary to predict that the real reform of the times is indicated by the present forceful impulse among women to put effort, energy, and ability into industrial channels, where earning capacity is the measure of success? Her real part in our civilization is to consecrate money to noble uses. When a woman earns money we do not expect her to build up a fortune, nor do any of the colossal things of commerce; but we do expect when she earns them that she will consecrate dollars to their beauty-buying and life-inspiring uses. Then money, like herself, will be

> "the sweet presence
> Of a good diffused, and in diffusion ever more intense."

Speed the day when all children shall have beauty in home, in raiment, and all about them, when opportunity shall open wide to noble living.

This, then, is the ultimate reason that justifies woman in attempting to earn money,—justifies her in conquering for her own uses the industrial vocations.

The employer delights in low wages, and so it has come to pass that women have not only made new places for themselves, but have displaced men in many pursuits,—how often and to what degree we expect to show you at the great Exposition of 1893.

The Board of Lady Managers is composed of women from all the States and Territories, with every shade of opinion, political, religious, intellectual, and social, but quite alike in a high conception of patriotic duty and of responsibility in being faithful to the industrial interests of all women. So large a proportion of the members of the Board are practical business women, with a clear comprehension of the bread-winning side of life, that that element is the determining force in the plans and purposes of the Board. We have photographers, painters, real-estate agents, philanthropists, artists, doctors, lawyers, authors, editors, farmers, teachers, and even capitalists in our membership.

The act of Congress which creates the Board of Lady Managers prescribes general duties, but declares this one thing specifically,—the precise wording is this,—"The Board may appoint one or more members of all committees authorized to award prizes for exhibits which may be produced in whole or in part by female labor." This constitutes our opportunity to serve the cause of women in the industrial world, because it implies that some means must be used to discover, when an article is entered for competition, whether or not women have been employed at all or in any capacity in its production. We want to know just what the labor of women has done and is doing,—whether it be with the shoe or the tin tip on the shoe-string, whether it be the engine or the brass tack in the plush-covered seat of the engineer. We do not expect Miss Willard to exhibit a reformed inebriate, but we do expect her to exhibit the labor of her brain,—the book that embodies her thought. We expect the woman who weaves the carpet to be recognized, and we have made it possible for the woman who designed the pattern of the carpet to say, "This is my work."

The Director-General, when requested by our President, cheerfully consented to have printed upon the entry blanks this question: "Please state if the labor of women was employed in the production of this article, and also what per cent." You will be gratified to hear that in the thousands of entries now being made in the Chicago office in but one case has this question not been answered. In this way we are to secure the data which will enable us to present the greatest illustration that has ever been possible of what women are doing in this world. You may look forward with interest to the final report to be made to Congress by the Board of Lady Managers.

If it shall be decided by the Board to point out by some device those articles to which the brain and hands of women have contributed, we shall be able to present an object-lesson, the magnitude of which will be a revelation, and which will be specially gratifying to those who believe that energy and ability should be unfettered. Of course, it may be said that if as women we have already attained to a plane where we find ourselves willing and anxious to go into the general exhibition with open and fair competition, it seems somewhat inconsistent to wish by another method to separate, or rather to emphasize, the work of women. I will grant that this desire is a relic of the dark ages, a sort of ghost of dead times; personally, however, I do want this ghost to walk just this once. I should not wish the device or the sign to be conspicuous,—not glaring or in the nature of a placard, but rather so small that it would have to be sought in order to be seen. I would rely on natural curiosity and interest to hunt the emblem that told the story of woman's work. My personal fancy is for a tiny silver crescent, because the industrial domain of woman is now

"a crescent,
That my auguring hope says will come to the full."

And if our treasury does not permit, would not the women of our respective States be glad to present the little silver crescent that would mark the work of woman, and afterwards serve as a souvenir for every girl and woman who has contributed in producing an article worthy of exhibition in the great Columbian Fair?

When one recalls the fact that in some of the older States one-third of the entire number engaged in industrial pursuits are women, it seems not unfitting that women should have a place of authority in this great industrial Exposition. When one observes year by year a greater proportion of the women earning wages deserting the lower callings to enter the higher pursuits, where more of brain and trained physical force are required, it would seem that every generous soul should help and not hinder in this first opportunity women have had to act under the authority of government.

At the close of Mrs. Meredith's address, Mrs. Palmer introduced Mrs. Charles M. Henrotin.

THE BOARD OF LADY MANAGERS OF THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

MRS. CHARLES M. HENROTIN. To insure the complete success of the Exposition to be held in Chicago in 1893, the marvellous advance which art, science, literature, education, government, jurisprudence, morals, charity, and religion have made during this century should be exemplified in suitable exhibits or by congresses. It is proposed to hold a

series of congresses in connection with the Columbian Exposition, that the great achievements in art and kindred sciences should be considered, plans proposed to advance general and special education, and the results already attained compared with the ideals of the educator, scientist, economist, and humanitarian; in a word, that the great thinkers of the world should meet the great workers. All this discussion of social, economic, and moral questions by representative men and women of all nations will rapidly advance the era of universal brotherhood and reciprocity.

The Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition was formed to organize and carry on these congresses. In Paris during 1889, twenty-six separate congresses were held to consider all branches of abstract thought, material advancement, and social questions. We hope that the number of congresses held in Chicago during 1893 will exceed the number held at the Paris Exposition.

The chief officers of the Directory are also the officers of the Congress Auxiliary. The membership is twofold: first, active membership of persons residing in Chicago, who will have charge of forming local committees, securing places in which the congresses can be held, providing committee-rooms, receiving the distinguished guests, caring for their comfort and pleasure; we trust that the hospitality of our city in the past is sufficiently known to warrant you in believing that we will do our best; second, an honorary and corresponding membership, subdivided into foreign and American branches. These members will correspond with the chairmen of the local committee, speak in the congresses, form committees outside of Chicago, and suggest topics of discussion and names of speakers.

A woman's branch has been appointed by the World's Congress Auxiliary to take charge of the special congresses, to provide a convenient and efficient means of communication and co-operation between the various organizations of women that may desire to hold or to participate in the congresses. A general committee of fourteen women has been appointed, with Mrs. Potter Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers, as the President of the branch. This general committee has appointed sub-committees upon Social and Economic Reforms; Temperance; Charities and Philanthropies; Churches; Missions; Physicians; Authors, including Journalists; Painters, Sculptors, and other Artists; Musicians, and Reception.

The controlling purpose of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary will be to bring all the departments of woman's progress into harmonious relations with each other and with the *like* achievements of men, to the end that the utmost attainable completeness and unity may characterize the World's Congresses of 1893, without materially impairing the proper

identity and distinguishing features of woman's contributions to the marvellous progress of the nineteenth century.

Differing religious denominations, temperance societies, schools of medicine, and other organizations will work in harmony to secure a result in which all are alike interested, and to obtain which the Auxiliary will endeavor to exercise the highest impartiality and justice. It will aim to secure the best presentation of the best aspect of every sincere and commendable effort to attain a result beneficial to mankind, leaving the comparative merits of the competing institutions to the judgment of the enlightened world.

The Woman's Branch will open communications with women's organizations and with individuals in all parts of the world on subjects indicated by the names of the respective committees. The committee will give information, answer inquiries, receive and invite suggestions, and form plans to facilitate all the work in charge.

Special congresses will be convened to consider those social and economic subjects interesting to women and affecting the social conditions under which they live,—as temperance, equal political rights, social purity, labor questions, combination, co-education, co-operation, strikes, mutual-benefit associations, dress-reform, etc.; especially will the trades and occupations be considered which underlie the construction and carrying on of the household life.

The women of Chicago look to the women of the United States and Europe to assist them in realizing this grand conception. For the first time in the history of modern civilization, woman has received governmental recognition which places her shoulder to shoulder with man to work in behalf of a national cause.

The world is suffering to-day because women are perforce dumb about municipal, state, and national affairs. We must each and every one embrace this opportunity to be heard in the councils of the nations. The women of to-day must lead in the vanguard of social and political reform, for they are destined to be the moral and spiritual leaders of the new civilization. There is no principle so little recognized among men and women as that of loyal co-operation, and the participation of women in the congresses will emphasize and strengthen that principle.

Come to Chicago in 1893, bringing with you your best thought, and then place your great and good deeds before the world. Help us to realize what seemed the other day but a dream, "the blessed equality of man and woman in the realms of abstract thought and in all that goes to make life dear to the intellect, beautiful to the eyes, and precious as an ideal."

We desire above all a full representation of the working-women. Committee-rooms and audience-halls will be provided free of expense for

all meetings of women in the governmental building. If there is not room enough for the women in the government building, Central Music Hall and the Auditorium can be secured. Only come, and let us know in time.

Working-women, come to Chicago, and bring with you your achievements in material things; come counsel together as to your needs socially, legally, and morally.

We need every association of women in the United States and Europe to help us,—the women of the Farmers' Alliance, the temperance cause, the clubs, the working-women's associations, the women of the liberal professions. In these great national and universal congresses we will learn to know each other's needs and necessities. The grand truth of the interdependence of men and women, worker and thinker, hand and brain, will be realized.

We trust that these conferences and congresses will be of lasting educational and material advantage to the toilers of the world. Again I beg each and every one of you to come and help us in 1893, remembering that "in union is strength, in council is wisdom."

MISS WILLARD. We will now hear from "Queen Isabella" by Queen Isabella Hooker, who will speak about it.

THE QUEEN ISABELLA ASSOCIATION.

ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER. Friends, I am afraid you will think that we World's Fair women are going to be as "terrible as an army with banners," because here we are on this National Board so ably represented by our President, Mrs. Palmer. I want you to understand that I too have the honor of being on that Board, and have already been to Chicago and had my expenses paid, and my per diem, just as if I were a man. (Laughter.) But now I want to tell you about the queen that made this whole celebration possible, and I am thankful that I inherited her name. If we all emulate her virtues, then indeed you may be thankful that you started from her. I have double honors, you see; I am representative from my Congressional District of Connecticut, and have been elected Vice-President of this Queen Isabella Association, and the grandest thing of the Association is, it has accepted those political divisions, the Congressional Districts, and it is going to make five women in every Congressional District take hold and help in this great World's Fair. We have pigeon-holes already arranged for every Congressional District for the names of these representatives, and they are to render an account every week and every month between now and 1893. We are going to make the women work for themselves!

We are so thankful that Congress for once has recognized that we are ladies, although we hate the term "ladies," usually; we know the Congress

has been the Lords of Creation so long that perhaps it is time there were some *ladies*, and we accept that against our faith. We propose, then, in this democratic fashion, that every woman shall help her country during this Fair by sending one dollar for the erection of a building. We have the plan of it here. We are going to erect the building by contributions of one dollar from every woman in the United States who is willing to send it, and there she shall have a home at the Fair, and help decide what shall be done with it when it is over; and we propose to have offices there ready for the councils of women of each profession and trade, which they can occupy through the whole session. I cannot go into particulars because that bell will ring. (Laughter.)

I want to say a word about the only opposition that I have heard to this organization which shall give women a place to come together and confer with each other, and have their committee-rooms at their service all through the Council where no strangers shall be admitted. We are a close corporation of women. We want to get together and talk through the whole six months on the subjects in which we are interested. Then we have our Congress Chamber for public discussions. But besides this, every woman who will pay five dollars is to own a statue of Queen Isabella, which is to be carved and wrought out of the brain of Harriet Hosmer, and we are to pay her just as much for her statue as if she were a man. So I invite you all to send five dollars for the statue of the queen, and one dollar to make you a member of this Association. The five dollars is to go for the statue of the queen; and when it is over, then we stockholders who pay the five dollars own the statue, and will decide where we will put it. I have decided now where I want it put,—right in the rotunda, under the dome of the Capitol in Washington. The statesmen are at the capital, and I want them to see the woman who made it possible for them to be there.

Now, here is our woman architect who has devised this building for us. She has given us the sum total of what it will cost, and it is to be within our means. I want to introduce her to you because her name is Minerva, and Minerva was the Goddess of Wisdom. We want wisdom; that is what we have not had for a good while. So we have got Minerva to make the plan for our building, and we are sure it will be a success. I want to show her to you myself.

Mrs. Hooker asked Miss Minerva Parker to come to the front of the platform, and then she introduced her to the audience.

Mrs. Hooker. The only objection to our project which I have heard is that Isabella, that queen of queens, was a Roman Catholic, and

so they do not want any statue to her. We have heard that over and over again, friends, until my indignation is aroused, and I want to say here, that if Protestantism is afraid for itself, and cannot survive except by maligning a noble woman whom five centuries have pronounced a model wife, mother, daughter, and ruler of empires, then Protestantism had better go under and let Romanism come up. I believe in the survival of the fittest. (Applause.) It is methods of religious instruction that determine which is the fittest; and if Romanists have better methods of instruction which will bring their children up in the love of justice and truth, we would better copy their methods instead of trying to swamp them under our religious system. (Applause.)

MISS WILLARD. Dr. Lucy Waite has one minute. Dr. Waite is the daughter of Judge Waite, and her mother is a lawyer. Miss Waite graduated at Vienna.

THE QUEEN ISABELLA ASSOCIATION.

DR. LUCY WAITE. Gentlemen and ladies,—I wish only to emphasize one point in Mrs. Hooker's speech: it is the organization of the women under the banner of Isabella according to their professions and occupations. I am especially interested in that feature of the work. I need not tell you that women are organizing; you have heard it, I think, at least one hundred times to-night, or during the Council. Yes, women are organizing. Up to this grand time we have been able only to pray and weep; but the fire, the vital spark, has struck us, and we are organizing. We have learned that if we will only organize we can have what we will.

To give you a little idea of what has been done: we are organizing the physicians, the lawyers, the press-women, the wage-workers, and the home-makers. Our Medical Department is well under way. We already have members from Maine to California. Our object is to hold, during the World's Fair, a Medical Congress for Women.

MISS WILLARD. You all remember that white-robed figure of Pundita Ramabai, who was present with us in the Council three years ago, and you will be glad to hear from Mrs. Judith W. Andrews, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ramabai Association. She will tell you how matters have fared with our dear Pundita since that time. She is a member of Rev. Edward Everett Hale's church, and a co-worker with him. It is an open question with her and myself which the Pundita cares most for. I think we will have to divide that honor, though it is my private opinion that she thinks more of Mrs. Andrews; however, she has made me godmother of her only little girl.

THE RAMABAI ASSOCIATION.

JUDITH W. ANDREWS. Ramabai Dongree Medhavi has been fitly called "the child of the forest." She was born in the dense forest of

Gangumala, the chosen home of her father, when forced into exile for his liberal views concerning child-marriage and female education. Here, taught by her parents, the child grew in knowledge and wisdom until nine years old, when her father was obliged to leave his forest home, though still as an outcast and a wanderer. After seven years of a homeless, wandering life, in which time Ramabai was storing her mind with rare knowledge by study, and keen observation of men and things around her, both parents, and soon after the brother were taken from her. In her loneliness and grief she met and married a man, not of high caste, but a gentleman and scholar, who sympathized in her liberal views. After nineteen months of great happiness, increased by the birth of a little daughter, their "heart's delight," Ramabai's cup of sorrow seemed filled to overflowing by the death of her young husband. But she was not one to indulge in unavailing grief in the midst of the deplorable ignorance and deeper misery of her unfortunate sisters, and she now consecrated herself anew to their uplifting.

Ramabai had already at the age of sixteen received the title of Saraswati. It was publicly conferred on her by the pundits of Calcutta, so astonished and pleased were they by her wonderful mind, the clearness of her views, and the force of her arguments in favor of female education.

She now turned longingly towards England for the special training and aid that should make her life-work a success. With firm faith in the Father whom sorrow had brought very near to her, she trusted herself and little child to an unknown sea, and crossed to England, a stranger to the people, their customs, and language. There she remained three years, teaching Sanscrit and studying diligently.

In the spring of 1886 Ramabai came to America to attend the graduation of her cousin, Dr. Joshee. The late Dean Bodley, to whom she confided her hopes and fears, gave her such words of encouragement and wise counsel that she decided to remain here. The educational system of America, especially the industrial training and Froebel's system, interested her, and she became an enthusiastic pupil in a kindergarten training-school. Plans for the education of child-widows now began to take definite form: a school and home combined; special training for the head and hand; elevating and refining influences for the mind and heart; the management to be neither missionary nor sectarian in character; the Hindu children to be taught and treated as Hindus, their manners, customs, and beliefs respected; Ramabai herself to observe these as far as they did not conflict with her new faith; a faith that was not to be forced upon her pupils, trusting the hand that had led her from darkness and superstition into light would lead them also.

In aid of such a school Ramabai appealed to no particular church or sect, but to men and women throughout the country. She asked them to

t ould ...port and protection, the cu-
tod the l given her, and to which she should hold
f re : the v uch funds.

In st Dece , 1887, appeal was answered; the *Ramabai*
a v an : by prominent clergymen, strong
l ; ir pective of church or creed. From
t ment . bai c l lf its servant, and began her work
once. She t d al fr [ada to the Pacific Coast, telling the
y of her s rs' wr in a aightforward, pathetic, and oftentimes
i , t w aig it to the hearts of her hearers and
dr from gener r e. Neither cold nor hunger, neither
n nor sor n r indi rence nor cruel misrepresentation could
a te the ardor or d the co of this frail child of the East in her
"God-inspired work."

During the year 1888, circles were rapidly formed, a branch association was organized on the Pacific Coast, and large sums of money came into the treasury. Then Ramabai turned her face homeward, eager for the work there before her. February 1, 1889, after an absence of six years, she touched the shores of her native land. She left a Hindu, but, with a heart all aglow with a divine purpose born of the spirit of Christ, she returned a Christian, but none the less a Hindu, true and loyal to her country. She left nearly penniless; she returned rich in friends, and with means pledged to establish a school and home for her unfortunate sisters, the child-widows. With her usual promptness she at once consulted the Advisory Board in Poona, took their advice, hired a building in Bombay, and there opened her school, March 11, 1889, one month and ten days after landing!

The Sharada Sadana opened with two pupils, one widow and one non-widow; the year closed with twelve widows and fifteen non-widows. The success was wonderful. Four of the widows had a slight knowledge of Marathi and English before entering the school, eight had none; but in ten months, all had covered the ground for which a year is usually taken in the government schools.

Ramabai's assistants were Miss Demmon, the young American teacher, and three native teachers. Miss Hamlin, an experienced teacher on the Pacific Coast, was sent to India, November, 1889, to assist in putting the school on a firm business foundation. As a representative of the executive committee, she was to act for that committee whenever, in consultation with Ramabai and the Advisory Board, *immediate* action became necessary; otherwise, all questions of great importance were to be referred to the trustees and executive committee here.

Ramabai closed the report of the first school year with a warm tribute to the fidelity and helpfulness of Miss Demmon and the native teachers,

and expressed great thankfulness to the association for sending Miss Hamlin, "who," she writes, "has learned much and will learn more that is of great importance to preserve unity and harmony in the actions of the association in America and the Advisory Board in Bombay." The scholarly and experienced men of this board, though busy in many important works, quickly responded to Ramabai's call, stood by her in trouble, defended the school against unfriendly attacks, and won her gratitude by their kind and brotherly interest.

During this year of experiment, opposition, and bitter trial, Ramabai's unselfish devotion to the cause she had espoused, her daily life, so in accordance with the religion she professed, the courage and sweetness with which she met opposition and calumny, were silent but eloquent lessons to many of her learned brothers, and won their respect.

Miss Hamlin writes of Ramabai at this time as "one of the grandest souls" she ever met,—"one of the chosen few," "a devoted and consecrated woman doing a grand and glorious work."

Many and eloquent are the words that England and India have spoken for Ramabai and her work. But stronger and more eloquent than spoken or written testimony is the success of the school itself, so far beyond what its founder and warmest friends had dared hope.

The vacation of last summer was spent by Ramabai in lecturing in important places for the purpose of gaining child-widow pupils. Only one week did she give to entire rest, which was passed with her step-brother, and in visiting the old forest home of Gangumala, where her father educated his child-wife, and she, in turn, became the teacher of their children. How sweet the memories of that childhood, as she recalled the early morning lessons learned from nature and the lips of her gifted mother, into which were woven the majestic voices of the forest, the glories of the morning sky, and sweet melody of birds! The home was in ruins, but the forest, the sky, and the mountains were to her the same in their indescribable beauty and grandeur; and, like old and faithful friends, they renewed and strengthened the sacred memories of the past. As, under these influences, Ramabai contrasted her own child-life of love, freedom, and growth with the restricted, joyless, hopeless, and suffering lives of the little child-widows, how her heart must have glowed with the thought that now to some of her sisters she could give a taste of the sweet joys of girlhood, and lead them into a life as free and pure as her own!

In July the school opened with twenty pupils and the promise of more. Miss Hamlin then felt that she could be of greater service to the school by lecturing outside of Bombay. In Poona she was warmly received and listened to with attention. The interest seemed so general and genuine that the Advisory Board was "won over" to approve of the removal of the

school there. Poona is the capital of the Deccan, the centre of Brahminism, where high-caste widows are numerous. The climate is more healthful and living cheaper than in Bombay. And it was Ramabai's first choice for the location of her school.

On the first day of November last the doors of the Sharada Sadana in Bombay were closed, much to the regret of many of its warm friends there. Ramabai was presented with a copy of the Vedas and a beautiful watch and chain by the ladies in token of their love and regret.

Before leaving Bombay she received tidings of her step-brother's death, and an appeal from the widow to come to her aid, as she was being defrauded of her property. She promptly answered the appeal, examined accounts, exposed frauds, secured the property to the widow and the adopted son, and appointed a trustee to look after their interests. This incident is mentioned to illustrate the fact, sometimes doubted, that, with all her rare gifts, she has also practical sense and business ability.

When Ramabai, with three child-widows, returned to the Sharada Sadana, she found it pleasantly located in Poona, and the pupils looking happy and contented. The number was soon increased to thirty-nine; twenty-six were widows; the age of the oldest was twenty-nine, of the youngest nine. But for the Sharada Sadana two of these widow pupils, in their despair, would have taken their own lives, and seventeen would have been driven to a sadder fate. What pathetic, what fearful confidences could these children whisper to each other,—confidences that, to our children, would seem like hideous dreams!

The marked success of the Sharada Sadana should make the cause of the child-widows appeal more strongly than ever to all interested in religious, educational, and philanthropic works, and surely to those who are waiting for the day when women shall stand equal with man in the eyes of the law as in the sight of God. For this cause is an answer to the cry of millions of India's helpless children, as dear to the Father as our own, to be saved from cruelty and wrong, from lives of ignorance, degradation, and shame. It is an answer to centuries of mute protest from many of India's women against a life hard, cruel, almost unhuman in its narrow opportunities, and utter subjection to the will and caprice of man; a protest that is at last voiced in the eloquent life of one heroic woman, who has gathered the miseries of her sisters into her own heart, where they have turned to the sweetness of hope and the strength of prophecy. With her eyes fixed upon the vision of the future redemption of India from all this weight of unholy oppression, Ramabai still holds out her hands to us for help.

When this humanitarian, Christian work, inaugurated by a tender, self-consecrated woman, is accomplished, a wider good than the uplifting of

one people will have been done in the binding together of nations in sympathy and co-operation, in faith, hope, and love.

MISS WILLARD. We have come now to the King's Daughters, two hundred thousand strong. Their general secretary and editor, Mary Lowe Dickinson, and the corresponding secretary of the society, Isabella Charles Davis, will each speak briefly, and I know you will be profoundly interested in what they have to say of the Society whose motto is, "In His Name."

THE KING'S DAUGHTERS.

Mrs. Dickinson's address* did not dwell upon the oft-told story of the origin and history of the Order, which has grown in five years from ten to nearly two hundred thousand members; it struck directly at the secret of its growth and power, its effects upon the development of character, and its relation to other organizations and to all phases of philanthropic work. She considered its almost abnormal growth as an indication of the enormous unused forces in womanhood, waiting only guidance and control to make them effective factors in the regeneration of the world. She spoke of the Order as a great inrushing tide, clamorous with the voice of "many waters," and said, "upon the wisdom of its direction depends the question of whether it shall go singing through the world a mere babble of rippling words, or whether it shall surge with resistless might against every form of evil, every type of misery, and every phase of sin. The secret of our rapid growth lies, first, in the recognition of the universal desire on the part of women to make their lives a service and a triumph instead of a defeat and a regret; second, in the beautiful adaptation of our plan to individual conditions and individual needs, taking each soul exactly where it finds it, and bringing it to an *acknowledgment* of its relation as a child of God, and of its obligation to actual service for humanity in the name of Christ, the Lover and Saviour of men. This idea carried out, left no chance of escape from loyalty, love, and work."

To these was added a third principle, that of absolute freedom with reference to choice of work. Under this head Mrs. Dickinson (who has been thinking and planning for the Order since its birth) treated it as a mighty educational force, inasmuch as it did not aim to engage women in what they could *not* do, but only in what they *could* do at just their present stage of development and attainment, moving *constantly* onward towards being something better and doing something more than they had heretofore attempted. It took women as they were and subjected them to a natural process of development, finding use for all the power of to-day,

* On account of the very full session, Mrs. Dickinson said only a word of greeting to the Council, and relinquished her time to Isabella Charles Davis. From the notes she had ready for the occasion, this *résumé* was prepared.

and putting in training grander powers for the needs of to-morrow. She pointed out the wasted forces that are the result of trying to do that for which they are not in the least fitted, or that which is done because of one outside influence or another. This Order aimed to make women students of themselves, true judges of their own capacities, while holding them to strict account for the use of forces of which they are possessed. A fourth principle, which was included in the idea of service, bound them not only to establish new work, but to stand as helpers in all work already established, and bound them to study all existing forms and phases of work that they might find the place where there could be the greatest good done with the least expenditure of power.

The speaker declined to dwell upon the more sensational and surface views of the work, and would spend no time even to outline the helpful and beautiful things it is accomplishing everywhere. These, if told as they should be, would make a volume surpassing all romance in interest and charm; but they were the flowers that had grown from the soil of these underlying principles, which she was anxious should become understood. Judging from the present growth and power of the Order, there is no limit to its future possibilities, provided its grand sentiment could be turned into channels of practical influence and its development wisely controlled, and its one principle of love and service kept perpetually in view. If worldly ambition, or any spirit except that which claimed its joint heirship with Jesus Christ,—*because, like Jesus Christ, it became the servant of men,*—crept in, its glory would be at an end; but keeping that spirit, there seemed to be no limit to its future power as a factor in the comfort and regeneration of the world.

THE KING'S DAUGHTERS.

ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS. I am to speak to you of the origin, scope, and work of the Order of the King's Daughters, the youngest perhaps of the societies that in this age of organization have entered into co-operation to secure the highest good for the human race.

This Order was founded by ten women in New York City on the 13th day of January, 1886. Its aims and purposes, as stated in the membership article of its constitution, are "to develop spiritual life and to stimulate Christian activities," and it welcomes to fellowship all who are one with us in these aims and purposes and "who hold themselves responsible to the King, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Its watchword "In His Name" has, through the ages, been the inspiration of a great multitude that no man can number, who, in the strength of it, have gone gladly to the stake, the scaffold, and to perhaps the harder service of long lives of martyrdom. Its badge, a tiny silver cross, is the emblem of the love and life and death of the King for us.

Our invitation to the women of the world to unite with us in this sisterhood of service went on its way winged by the same Spirit that in the long ago touched the followers of the Christ with the white flame of Pentecostal fire, for as

> "Silently as the daylight comes when the night is done
> And the crimson streak on Ocean's cheek grows into the great sun,
> Silently as the spring-time her crown of verdure weaves,
> And all the trees on all the hills open their thousand leaves,"

so from all the nations of earth and from the islands of the sea came swiftly a great multitude saying softly, "We too are the children of the King; we too would that the Christ should live in us and reign over us, and for love of him we would unite with you in service to his world." To-day the silver cross shines in every land under the sky, and the hearts that throb beneath it claim kinship with each other because "they are near akin to the King."

In 1887 the associate branch of the King's Sons was formed. In 1888 the Order was incorporated by its founders, under the title of the Order of the King's Daughters and the King's Sons, and the badge was made the seal of the corporate body.

In 1890 the Executive Board issued the following platform of world-wide co-operation:

> First. That all branches of the Order accept the constitution under which it was chartered in America so far as it relates to the Order at large; that there be used throughout the world one badge, one membership card, one certificate of membership. Provision to supply these will be made by the Central Council of the Order.
>
> Second. That each country desiring to co-operate with us shall elect a General Secretary, whose election shall be confirmed by the Central Council, said Secretary to report yearly, or more frequently if necessary, the needs of the work in her own country; and that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Missions be the representative in that body of the interests of the Order in all foreign mission-fields.

The work of organizing the rapidly-increasing society is going forward steadily. Twenty-three States have elected State Secretaries, who in their turn appoint County Secretaries. Canada has four Provincial Secretaries. England, Australia, and Japan have elected their National Secretaries. Denmark has nearly completed her national organization, and the desire for consolidation and unification is everywhere manifested.

From this hasty sketch of our origin and purposes, you will see that the basis of our Order is scriptural, not doctrinal; our aim, spiritual, not theological; our purpose, in every relation of life, in the home, the church, the community, and the nation, to live the Christ life, and by the living of that life to break down the barriers that have separated the children of God. We come to teach, not only with voice and pen, but in daily

living, the lesson never enough believed or taught or known of the "Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

In this Order we forget the things that separate us. Here we remember only that God our Father so loved us, every one, that he sent his only begotten Son to die that we might live, and because that Son is to us the divine Christ, God incarnate, "King of kings and Lord of lords," we stretch out eager, welcoming hands and cry, as he has bidden us, "Whosoever will, let him come," and learn of Him in whom alone is life eternal, life for the soul, life for the nation, life for the race.

In this Order there is no age line, no color line, no money line. The youngest member was made such the day she was born, the oldest united with us the day she was one hundred years old. The cross is worn in every nation on the globe, and here the rich and poor meet together, remembering that God is the Father of us all.

This organization is *not*, primarily, a philanthropic society, but it *is* a religious Order, whose philanthropic work should be the result of lives close hidden with Christ in God. Our first field of service for the King lies within our own hearts, in which he should reign supreme; the next, our own homes; the next, our own churches; then our own communities; and then the great wide world.

Nothing that can make another soul better or happier is too small a service for the King's child to render. Nothing however great need daunt us if undertaken for "Love of Christ" and "In His Name."

In this spirit and for these purposes, for five years this Order has been at work. Souls have been sought and won for God. Orphans have been cherished and cared for. From the aged have been lifted the burdens of life. Young men have been educated for the ministry; young women trained for foreign mission service. Parsonages have been built, churches, hospitals, asylums erected, church debts paid, rescue missions founded, industrial schools, kindergartens, and day nurseries established, the great house-to-house and heart-to-heart work in tenements of New York begun.

Unnumbered wearers of the silver cross have rallied to the ranks of the White Ribbon Army and are marching in step with those who hold aloft the white banner of Social Purity. The Executive Board, through their Standing Committees on Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Education, Temperance, City Evangelization, Charity Organization, Working-Women, Work among Men and Boys, Work among Indians, and Work among Invalids, are reaching out helping hands to all the grand organizations that seek to win a world for Christ. This, as our beloved General Secretary and poet, Mary Lowe Dickinson, has sung, this is our work, and we count it

"A glorious work, worthy the knightliest soul
That ever 'neath the banner of the cross
Set steadfast face towards far Jerusalem,
Or died for right to win an empty tomb.
Small need to quarrel o'er his sepulchre;
His grave is wheresoe'er his Christhood dies,
He lies enshrouded in the hearts of men.

"To rise in might and cast the evil out
That slays the Christ life in the human soul,
This is our work; and our reward is this,
To see on human faces, stained and scarred,
The dawning light that says, 'The Lord has risen.'"

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

MRS. I. C. MANCHESTER. I come before you representing a national association whose work is vital to every home in the land. There has never been a crisis in the world's history when God did not have some person or persons to enter the conflict and bravely work for the right.

Humanity is always engaged in open struggle or silent conflict, and each age or race of warriors or thinkers is stamped with its own peculiarities. The civil war broke upon us with almost the suddenness of a meteor's glare. It was like the eruption of a volcano whose pent up fires had for ages been gathering strength for a final explosion. Thinking men had been watching the approach of the menacing cloud, and prophesied the struggle that was to come, but hoped the vials of wrath might not be poured out upon their heads. But the cloud burst. Thinking men and women of to-day see clouds in the horizon threatening our future, which, if no larger than a man's hand, will bring tornado, tempest, and destruction. We are living in a time when strong individual action is demanded for the future welfare of our country.

We are called upon to help preserve the blessings we inherit from our forefathers and protect the liberties and institutions of liberty, these glorious gifts, in all their purity and beneficent form, clean and uncontaminated by foreign foe or domestic traitor. It is our individual duty, as mothers and sisters, to enlighten and educate, to advocate freedom and to make all Americans patriotic, by teaching them love of country and loyalty to our country's flag. We are warned by our forefathers to beware of foreign influence. It is our duty to guard the flag as well as our school system, which has been subject to the assault of those whose rule and strength are dependent upon the ignorance and superstition of the masses.

Do you know there is a foreign power now doing its utmost to secure perpetual appropriation of money for its own ends? What *should* we do if the subjects of a foreign potentate were to get control of the balance of power or attain the majority? Defend ourselves. Self-preservation is the

first law of nature, and American people are realizing the necessity of immediate action.

The clank of chains has in all the world's history been more potent to arouse an indifferent nation and arm it for battle than the commands of aggressive potentates or boom of cannon. Liberty has been the rallying cry that has instigated every revolution and brought about every reform the world has ever known. This word liberty has startled like an electric shock, has rung the tocsin that has awakened a drowsy and apathetic people. It has charged the battery of public sentiment and sent its current along the line of thought, startling the world, and electrifying it with a determination to be free.

We claim to be a free nation, and yet more than eight millions are slaves under a bondage as much worse than African slavery as the soul is above the body and eternity beyond time. Hark! We hear the clanking of the chains already forged and riveted by a tyrant more relentless than King George, more unscrupulous than Mark Antony, more mighty than Cæsar, more repulsive than Mirabeau, more cruel than Nero. Arouse, shake off your stupor, and resist these baneful influences.

The question comes home to us, shall we stand by our flag and the statue of Liberty, under whose shadow we have been resting for a few days? Shall we see our national colors trailed in the dust by a foreign power, and that statue dashed to the ground? Does this mean liberty, liberty of conscience, free press, free speech, and the protection of our civil and religious liberties? *No;* it means tyranny, superstition, darkness, idolatry, ignorance, and the inquisition. As we realize to-day the condition of things in this government, are we satisfied that we are paving the way for future generations to peace and prosperity, as our forefathers so nobly and bravely did for us? Are we carrying out the principles which George Washington, the founder of our Nation of American people, desired we should? Call to mind what his life-long friend Lafayette said, "If the liberties of the American people are ever destroyed, they will fall by the hands of the Romish clergy."

Friends, let us rouse and do our duty as parents, citizens, patriots, and as servants of God. Let us rise and say we will save our children, our homes, our institutions, and our dear land of liberty. I hold in my hand the constitution and by-laws of the association called "Loyal Women of American Liberty;" our motto, for "God and American Liberty." As national representative and organizer, if the ladies of Washington, or other cities, are desirous of organizing a branch of this association, will they please confer with me as soon as possible.

I can find no more fitting words to impress us with our responsibility of duty to our country than those of a celebrated patriot, "Guard against faction, the viper. Guard, as the bulwark of your hopes, the

fame and honor of your rulers. Above all, guard against those base, unmanly suspicions by which foreign and domestic enemies strive to break confidence between rulers and people, the anchor of independence. Then, Americans, you may rely with assurance that, if such be the will of the Supreme Ruler, you shall preserve the peace and liberty you so justly prize, and your country maintain in honor and virtue that high and happy rank she holds among the nations."

MISS WILLARD. Those who were present three years ago will remember that during the exercises there was formed on the platform a line of those whom we called our pioneers, our noble foremothers in this great warfare, this blessed, peaceful warfare, for the enfranchisement of women. Two of those women are with us to-night. One of these is to be the central figure in another council to be held during the remainder of the week, the Woman Suffrage Association, which begins to-morrow. The other has come from Boston. She is editor of the *Woman's Journal*, and chairman of the Executive Committee of the convention which meets here to-morrow. I am sure that all of you will be glad to rise up and do honor to Lucy Stone, and I present her to you.

Mrs. Stone came to the front of the platform, while the entire audience rose to its feet and called for her to speak.

LUCY STONE. Madam President and friends,—It is so late, and everybody is so weary, that my voice, I think, should be still. (Cries of, "Go on! go on!") As I sat here thinking how the times have changed since our early meetings, when it was not easy for a woman to stand up and speak anywhere, for she might have cold water or bad eggs cast at her, because some thought she had no business to be a public speaker,—as I saw the crowded audience, and heard all these voices here, I thought how grateful I am that in all these years this great good has come to women.

MISS WILLARD. Now, friends, having had that good and tender word from that motherly heart, I want to say that Miss Susan B. Anthony has stated her *ultimatum*. She comes a good deal lower down on the programme, but she said to me just now, "I do not feel called upon, at my age, to stay here until midnight." Although I did not tell her that her slightest intimation was law, I made up my mind that the introduction of the new *régime* and the gradually dissolving view of the old *régime* might be welcome at this juncture. You are to understand that this brief tableau is simply that Miss Anthony may go home, because she has another convention on her hands to-morrow. Now we will proceed to "Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest."

All those who belong to the past will take their places by me on the

right; all those new, bright spirits who are to take up the work for the next four years will take their places on the left.

Susan B. Anthony, Mary F. Eastman, M. Louise Thomas, and May Wright Sewall stepped forward to Miss Willard's right hand: on her left Ella Dietz Clymer, Rachel Foster-Avery, Isabella Charles Davis, and Lillian M. N. Stevens took a position.

THE PRESIDENT. There was a wonderfully blessed time, great unanimity, harmony, and good feeling, at the election of these new officers to-day at the Riggs House. May Wright Sewall was one of the old officers. I have known her since she was eighteen years old; she is a *young* woman. Susan and I are the only *old* ladies in the line. I thought perhaps it would be interesting to know the ages of these sisters here. (Laughter.) But as we have not quite arrived at that broad expansion that we could endure to tell them individually, I inform you that we on this side sum up the total of two hundred and eighty-eight years, of which Susan has the largest figure; I think I have the next. On the other side these young spirits sum up two centuries and nine years. I think it is time for these young spirits to take the laboring oar, and let us who have borne the heat and burden of the day retire. May Wright Sewall, our President, is also President of the Contemporary Club, of Indianapolis. I am happy to point to yon beautiful basket of flowers sent her from those good friends who were with us this evening, and who belong in the White House, but who in time past belonged in Indianapolis. Ella Dietz Clymer has this evening reported to you; she is our Vice-President. Rachel Foster-Avery is the best Corresponding Secretary on this globe. Isabella C. Davis, who has just spoken to you of the King's Daughters, is our Recording Secretary; and Lillian M. N. Stevens is Treasurer, and a "White-Ribboner." Like myself, she is likely to render herself unpopular by radicalism on some questions. Still, Governor Burleigh, of Maine, made her a delegate to the Columbian Exposition. Miss Eastman and Miss Anthony have been made perpetual honorary members of the Council Board. Our new President will perhaps say a word for the oncoming Board.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL. The sweet humility with which Frances Willard took place at the foot of the line had a false ring in it, because, really, from the pleasant fact that Frances Willard is perpetual and unreplaceable President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; by virtue of that position she is an *ex-officio* Vice-President of the National Council of Women of the United States, and therefore is yet a member of our active official board.

We have now no time to decide upon the policy of the new official

board, but it will probably be very much like the old administration, enlarged by additional time. The graceful invitation, through Mrs. Palmer, of the Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition, to the National Council of Women to hold a meeting in Chicago in 1893, when we are celebrating the discovery of our country, will enable the officers of the Council to have a sort of experimental council, and thereby get ready to have a perfected council in 1895. In order that we may, when that good day comes round, have an audience in Washington (for by our constitution we are compelled to hold each Triennial Council in Washington), we wish some of this audience to survive this present meeting: therefore I shall not longer detain you. I hope that these women on my right and on my left will hold me faithful to all the high plans which they on both sides have seen fit to make in the selection of their leader.

MISS WILLARD. "The Illinois Woman's Alliance" will now be presented by Corinne S. Brown.

THE ILLINOIS WOMAN'S ALLIANCE.

CORINNE S. BROWN. The Illinois Woman's Alliance was organized in November, 1888, in response to a call issued by the members of a Woman's Labor Union. Its constitution provides, "The Alliance shall be composed of women sent as delegates from other organizations. Each organization, upon receiving a majority vote of the Alliance and upon the quarterly payment of one dollar, shall be entitled to send three delegates."

The Alliance is, therefore, a delegated body of women cosmopolitan in character. Men's organizations join by sending women as delegates. A Masonic Chapter Order of the Eastern Star, a Christian Science Association, Aid Societies, Suffrage, Medical, Temperance, Ethical, and Hospital Associations, with Labor Unions, are represented. The Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago, a delegated body of wage-workers, men and women, send delegates, giving the Alliance the support of a voting force of twenty-five thousand. Women of many beliefs sink their prejudices, bury their differences, and unite to realize the motto, "Justice to Children—Loyalty to Women."

Its objects are,—

1. To enforce all laws that have been enacted for the protection of women and children.

2. To secure the enactment of such new laws as shall be found necessary.

3. To investigate all business establishments and factories where women and children are employed, and public institutions where women and children are maintained.

4. To procure the appointment of women as health inspectors, as

members of boards of education, and to serve on boards of management of public institutions.

The growth of the work has evolved standing committees on sanitary inspection, education, to visit institutions, as the poor-house, insane asylum, jail, etc., to procure free bathing establishments, to procure a State school for dependent children, to organize women according to the political divisions of the city; a rotating committee with a permanent chairman to attend the meeting of the board of education, a similar committee to attend the county court on those days that homeless children are assigned to the private institutions, sub-committees of education to visit in turn the public schools.

The meetings are held monthly. The attendance is between seventy and eighty women, and the business consists in hearing the reports of the committees, sending by letter or committee notices of wrongs or injustice to women and children, that are brought out by the reports, to the party who has jurisdiction, as the mayor, chief of police, board of education, or county commissioners.

Now for what the Alliance has done. It created a great agitation by petitioning the city council to instruct the board of education to enforce the compulsory education law, which had been a dead letter for seven years. The enforcement of the law now needs the work of twenty-five truant officers, thirteen of whom are women.

By petition again public attention was called to the fact that one-fourth of the teachers' salaries each year was withheld for four months. It was brought out that the salaries of policemen and firemen underwent the same curtailment each year. Somebody was drawing interest on the money withheld. It was discovered that this was not necessary, and teachers, policemen, and firemen received their money. By petition we succeeded in having an ordinance enacted providing that five women be appointed as sanitary policewomen, the first in the world, to inspect the establishments where women and children are employed. They wear a star and are admitted everywhere. The Alliance caused the enactment of an eight-hour ordinance regulating child-labor, and of an ordinance forbidding the sale of cigarettes to children under sixteen.

We gathered five hundred women and attended the council in a body to emphasize our demand for a second woman on the school-board. She was appointed in spite of the unwillingness of the mayor. We held a meeting in the interest of sanitation, also one in the interest of education. In two years we have visited and criticised twenty-six institutions for their permanent good.

The Alliance answered the objections raised against the Compulsory Education Law. We sent the following letter to the Illinois Legislature:

To the Senate and House of Representatives in convention assembled in Springfield, Illinois, 1891:

GENTLEMEN,—Although we, members of the Illinois Woman's Alliance, are not voters under the laws of the State, yet we are vitally interested in all that concerns the welfare of the community. During the past few years we have been investigating and studying the administration of justice, and the management of public institutions as they affect women and children, and our experience makes it incumbent upon us to demand your consideration for the reforms as herein set forth.

EDUCATION.

1. We demand that the compulsory school term be extended to twenty-four weeks.

2. We demand that the Compulsory Education Law shall recognize no school but the public school, and, as concerns private instruction, that it shall hold parents and guardians directly responsible for the prescribed education of children. Further, we emphatically protest against the provision in the proposed law for truant officers to send children into private as well as public schools. Public money and public officials must serve public ends. All diversion of such service to private ends is dangerously anarchistic.

3. We demand that kindergartens shall be made a part of the public school system. This measure, by familiarizing little children with school discipline, will materially lessen the future work of truant officers and reform institutions.

4. We demand that the text-books shall be furnished free of cost to *all* pupils of the public schools. The adoption of this measure in Massachusetts added ten per cent. to the school enrolment in one year. Books should be free to all, as discrimination on account of poverty is un-American.

5. We demand the establishment of a State public school, where waifs and neglected children can be sheltered and educated; or, as a substitute, that public homes should be established in cities and towns for such children, from which homes they should attend the public schools.

JUSTICE COURTS.

We demand a radical reform in the justice court system as practised in large cities. Our investigations justify us in condemning it as pernicious, for by its operations criminal accusations and unwarranted arrests are made business capital for officers, justices, and constables. No person is safe when poverty and social obscurity weigh adversely in the administration of justice.

STATE INSTITUTIONS.

We demand that the Asylum for Feeble-Minded Children, located at Lincoln, be enlarged to meet the demands upon its shelter and care. Its present over-crowded condition is a disgrace to the State, and more than three hundred are waiting for admission.

We demand that the Women's Departments in the Penitentiary and in the Asylums for the Blind and the Insane be placed under control of a board of women, who shall exercise complete supervision. We make this demand as it is the only remedy for those notorious evils which always exist in institutions where helpless, dependent women are under the charge of men.

We demand the appointment of women on the State Board of Charities and of Health. While women are retained in State institutions, women should be associated with men in their care and management.

CORINNE S. BROWN, *President.*
LOUISE PEARSON, *Secretary.*

To prevent politicians from buying or using our members as they do labor organizations, we adopted an amendment "that no member can hold political office and retain membership at the same time."

We limit our expenditure to our income. Not being dependent on donations, we are independent of outside influence. We ask no favor, so have nothing to lose. Having the right of criticism, we use it fearlessly. The press, relieved of the danger of reproof for exposing political shortcomings, willingly prints that for which the Alliance is responsible.

MISS WILLARD. The next on the programme is "The Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston," on which we shall have a five minutes' speech from Dr. Helen B. O'Leary.

THE LADIES' PHYSIOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF BOSTON.

DR. HELEN B. O'LEARY. In 1848, forty-three years ago, a noble company of women organized "The Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston and vicinity." Two years later, in 1850, they obtained a charter. It is the oldest incorporated society for women in the United States. It required moral courage to become a member in those days. It was then thought unnecessary for a woman to have any knowledge of the human system, or the laws of life and health. Tremont Temple was at first denied them for a public meeting; but, as a gentleman remarked, "They looked like respectable women," the application was afterwards favorably considered and the meeting was held. On that occasion but one clergyman could be found in Boston who was willing to offer prayer, the Rev. Dr. Jenks.

This institute possessed a true vitality; it felt it had principles to inculcate, and, notwithstanding all the obstacles, this little band of women never flinched, and we are reaping to-day the results of their beneficent work. The last time I saw Wendell Phillips he said to me, "The Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston is the pioneer of women's clubs, and it has nobly held its own." Now our lines have fallen in pleasant places. We have a fine anatomical cabinet and a library. Every Thursday afternoon, from the first of October until May, we have lectures on physiology and kindred subjects. We have a broad field; for all wrong-doing is unphysiological.

Dr. Merritt, the President, is doing a noble work; her lectures to young women are invaluable, and I wish women physicians elsewhere would organize more societies like this. All sciences are but parts of one great whole, and the highest function of universal science is to teach us how to live. In the early ages, the efforts of physicians were not, as now, directed to the investigation of the causes of disease and a careful observation of their phenomena, but all their energies were spent on the invention of nostrums, charms, and amulets. Diseases were visitations. We

have all laughed with Le Sage and Molière over the follies of the physicians of the years gone by. Now we have learned better sanitary conditions, and the "visitations" are ceasing. We no longer wear charms and amulets to prevent disease, but, like Œdipus, we solve the riddle of the Sphinx and prolong our lives.

Modern science has taught the world that the laws of matter are the laws of God, and cannot be violated with impunity. All mental culture should have the science of life for its basis, and, as Professor Huxley said, "The advantage which the study has over all others is that the subject is always at hand in one's own self." How true the words of Saint Augustine: "Men go to gaze on lofty mountains, and the mighty waves of the sea, and the wide currents of rivers, and study the circling courses of the stars, and overlook themselves."

Physiology is the science of ourselves. It is the Shakespeare of the sciences, dipping down among them all, and, like Molière, taking its own wherever it can find it. I am hopeful for the future, and believe the time is not far distant when physiological societies will be found in every city, village, and hamlet of the land.

CHURCH UNION.

E. B. GRANNIS. You are asked to listen for a few moments to a short statement concerning a woman's view and work in the interest of visible church union, which I believe to be the consummation of Christian unity. Most of us are familiar with the repeated declaration from many of the strongest denominational men that we have spiritual union already, which is all we can hope to attain until the millennium. Many of us think differently, and are striving to prove our faith by our works. We are often overwhelmed with discouragements, though never destroyed.

It would be useless for me to attempt to read a paper setting forth the Scriptural doctrine, and reasons why Christians or Protestants should present a visible united front. Many may well ask what might Protestants not accomplish were it not for their divisions, as compared with the Romish Church, and in going back in Church history, ask what explanation can be given for the Episcopalians withdrawing from that body [illegible] le the other evangelical bodies seek to give an answer to the [illegible] Bishops why they cannot accept apostolic succession. Th[illegible] e no [illegible] tion about all religious denominations holding to, a[illegible] king [illegible] prominent than others, some special Scriptural tru[illegible] it [illegible] essentials or non-essentials that divide the visible body of [illegible] i[illegible] sects, they are unwarranted in Christ's teachings to [illegible] sion. The question is, What think ye of Christ? [illegible] will ye do [illegible] the Christ of God? All evangelical bodies, and [illegible] U[illegible] Universalists, who believe and declare their faith [illegible] Lord.

as the only begotten Son of God, and the Redeemer of the world, must come within the line of evangelical believers.

The *Church Union* has never advocated any especial or set form of church government. Let those who wish to worship with a litany do so, and those who choose the Congregational form of worship should have the right. All Christians should unite, and drop forever every denominational name. Churches may be designated by numbers and streets in cities: as the First, Second, or Third Church of Christ, on Madison Avenue, as the case may be; the Church of New York; the Church of Philadelphia, etc. All churches of the United States should have a common treasury devoted to home and foreign missionary work.

There is certainly no authority in Scripture for separate funds to establish a Presbyterian Christian Church, an Episcopal Christian Church, a Baptist, a Methodist, or a Lutheran Church on the Chinese or Japanese shores, and attempt to preach the simple gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and faith in Him. Christians must not declare for Paul, Cephas, or Apollos, but *all* for Christ *only*.

We would ask for a free interchange of pulpits between all denominations. We ought to have open communion, without any barriers to prevent Christ's disciples from eating in memory of his death and resurrection. The Lord's Table should be spread for all who have confessed him before the world and seek in sincerity of heart to obey his teachings.

Establishing a Close-Communion Baptist Table in the place of the Lord's Table, or a High Church Episcopal Table, is a most dangerous presumption, if thereby earnest Christians are kept away whom Christ has accepted, and of whom the High Churchman or the Close-Communion Baptist says, We do not doubt their sincerity as Christians, or that they bring forth the fruits of Christianity, but we cannot invite or recommend them to the Lord's Table in *our* Church.

I sincerely trust that some platform will be laid on which the visible *Church Union* may be built, that the world, seeing the unity of Christ's followers, may be constrained to believe in and accept his gospel. If Christ prayed only for spiritual unity, that the world might see and believe, and if that prayer is answered already, then there is no need for further effort. If the unity for which Christ prayed is not accomplished, it is the privilege and duty of every minister and disciple of Christ to do all in their power as instruments to *aid* in the answer of this prayer.

MISS WILLARD. The National Woman's Press Association is represented here by its President, Mrs. M. D. Lincoln. As you all know, "Bessie Beech" is her pen-name.

THE PRESS—ITS POWERS AND POSSIBILITIES.

M. D. LINCOLN. One writer, and a woman, has enjoined us to cherish and cultivate the crank, because he is a being that never lies still and never crawls, neither is he a parasite nor a snail. Whether he play the part of the pestiferous gnat or the trumpeting elephant, no man can accuse him of being a sneak, or an enemy in ambush. He may be right or he may be wrong, he may be a necessity or a nuisance; but he is always frank, fearless, and a fighter, striving earnestly to enlighten and improve the world.

In all the great reforms which have improved the world, do we not recognize in the leaders the qualities which this writer has accorded to the crank? Men and women of one idea persistently cultivated have wrought marvellous reforms. The world of art, science, literature, and philanthropy has been revolutionized by those often denominated cranks. Had we predicted twenty-five years ago that the then unpopular suffrage movement would have grown to be an enormous lever, lifting thousands of women up to a plane of popular recognition, we should have been counted more nearly demented than the few undaunted women who were willing to be called anything for the sake of the principle they advocated. So the once unpopular temperance movement, now one of the most formidable powers in the world for the suppression of the rum mania, was scoffed at as the whim of a few old women.

All great projects have been the outgrowth of what at first seemed an insignificant trifle. Often the progenitors had little intellectual power to boast of, but their undaunted persistency in pushing their vehicle of reform by the one-idea power has overcome the greatest resistance.

As the continuous dripping of the water makes a defile in great rocks, and the coral polyps may be ages working to the water-level, where towns are eventually builded on the superstructure they rear, so the women of this country who have been persistently chiselling through public opinion by the drip, drip, drip of argument, have, like the polyps, made a superstructure on which women for all time may be building an imperishable temple.

In the summer of 1881, when three correspondents of this city frequently met in council to discuss plans for the organization of a press club, we might, had we known their object, have called them by the name of cranks. However, so earnest were their convictions, that they called a meeting of the writers of this city, which, by the courtesy of Mrs. Jane H. Spofford, was held in the parlors of the Riggs House, July 10, 1882. Twenty-five ladies responded to the call, and an organization was then formed, known as the Woman's Press Club. At this meeting a petition asking Congress to set apart a press gallery expressly for women writers

was signed by all present and duly presented to Congre small and apparently insignificant beginning there evolv organization known as the Woman's National Press As records of any previous woman's press association organize tive exchange have been found. In 1876 a Centennial formed in Philadelphia for the benefit of women writers Centennial as correspondents.

The purposes and plans of the Woman's National Pr were on an entirely different basis. In this woman's era, w reaching out in all directions in their eagerness to attain wh been denied them, and hastening to enter the busy paths o the organizers of this press association appreciated the co-operative organization which would eventually result i press clubs all over the country. The tendency to co-op tion, and fraternity in all circles and societies is bringin chaos, order out of disorder, and concentration of power movements.

On the list of active membership of the Woman's Natio ation we find the name of Miss Clara Barton, the Presiden can Association of the Red Cross, a woman honored the w London, Olive Logan Sykes is our representative, and her proffered as our head-quarters when visiting London. Our in the State of Illinois is Mrs. Edward Roby, famous as t President of the Ladies of the Grand Army; in New Y Mary Frost Ormsby is our Vice-President; in Massachusett Woods. Yet various other press organizations may greatl and claim many more distinguished women, for it must that New York, Boston, Chicago, and other large cities h pers to our one, which depend upon news wired to them fr and that our pen-women here are many of them residents who come to Washington only during the session of Congre may go and Presidents may come, and the entire political Houses of Congress change, but our earnest, untiring pre affected by political upheavals, go on making politicians they disseminate through the press.

I do not think it possible for the most far-reaching obs what great events will follow the consolidation of press cl if you please, a complete system of exchange through thes now so ably managed by women. With a national centr admirable system prevailing that has characterized other m press conventions to discuss the great questions of the d quarters, publishing houses, schools of journalism, where w type-setting, wood-engraving, and the new and wonder

illustrating their productions, we shall begin to realize how mighty the pen has become.

We frequently read protests against the unwarranted liberty of the press, and its various methods of vivisection, its utter disregard of any code of honor when it serves up subjects to tempt the appetite of the public. Cannot the sentiments of the people be governed by the opinions of the press to a dangerous degree, then? When women fully realize this fact, can they not, when fully organized, become a powerful medium of reform?

The press, standing on an almost independent platform, has, if my observations are correct, been slower to accede to the co-operative plan than any other craft; but at last the newspaper syndicates will rival the real estate and other syndicates, and leave even the Farmers' Alliance in the background. This tendency to solidify the power of press force will, if continued, make a greater lever to move and sway the world than all other forces combined. Our beloved Susan B. Anthony and honored Frances E. Willard and their noble peers might talk, and talk, and talk forever, but how would *all* the people hear them but for the press? You may say that these women who dared to talk when women's talk was unpopular changed the opinions of the public, but the press has been the medium through which the education and reformation of the world has been carried forward.

The pen of a woman pierced the heart of American slavery, and, behold, what a revolution! With pens of flame, carrying thoughts of fire straight to the hearts of thousands of readers, have such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" gone on their mission to the world. And yet it is not many years ago when, if a woman sought to become known as a writer, she was looked upon as a type rather to be avoided, especially if she did not occupy a position of some prominence, and even then criticism was likely to be severe. But have not such writers as Mary Clemmer Ames, Grace Greenwood, Mary A. Denison, Emma D. E. N. Southworth, Frances Hodgson Burnett, and other distinguished women, demonstrated their fitness to take positions as honorable as our Reids, Halsteads, Fields, or any other great lights on the dominant side of the animal kingdom, and also to grace the most select society at the capital of the nation?

We cannot remain blind to the fact that there is a fascination in the popular appreciation accorded gifted writers. We could not in this paper enumerate the ladies in official circles who *sub rosa*, or otherwise, are entering the field of journalism. Mrs. Mary A. Logan, Miss Dawes, Ethel Ingalls, Mrs. Senator Blair, Harriet Taylor Upton, and dozens more, known at once from their positions socially, are known also as writers. One cannot fail to note the fact that literary women lead society, and unconsciously make precedents for society to follow.

Emoluments may not come to brain-workers among the gentler sex by way of official recognition. There may be no missions for them, no delightful jaunts across the continent with good pay and good company; they may have to wait the dawn of a new era for missionary work in foreign lands, but they are leading, educating, refining, and elevating the masses; directing, dictating, shaping the future of generations out of old environments of mental bondage to universal freedom of thought. When there shall evolve out of all the forces controlled by woman for the dissemination of brain-power thoroughly organized press federations, we shall have astonishing results.

The concentration of all the countless energies of thousands of writers on the various questions of public interest discussed in press conventions will be a realization in the future, and will become a recognized power formidable for good, if they honor their profession by fidelity to each other and the cause of humanity.

THE WOMAN'S HEALTH PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

MARGARET RAVENHILL. After listening throughout this session to burning words of eloquence on themes as high and noble as the thought that voiced them, I am going to take you down into the slums, into filthy stable-yards and festering slaughter-houses, into the dirty highways and byways of a great city, where extreme wealth and abject poverty jostle each other on the roadway. If "cleanliness is akin to godliness," then we can lay little claim to the latter quality. We women of New York bore this state of things until we thought it was criminal to endure it any longer, when we rose in the majesty of a righteous indignation and took matters into our own hands. What we have done I will give you in a published report from the New York *Post:*

> What women can do in the way of reforming public abuses, when spoils-politics engages office-holders to the exclusion of the public business, is illustrated in the history of the Ladies' Health Protective Association of this city; and an account of what they have accomplished through this Association will prove a revelation to many people who already entertained a high opinion of their capacity for usefulness in relation to public affairs.
>
> ABATING THE STABLE-REFUSE NUISANCE.
>
> Eleven women organized the Association on November 21, 1884. The next day they visited in a body the manure-yard of one Michael Kane, a man who, through political "pull," had for years defiantly maintained a monstrous nuisance at the foot of East Forty-Sixth Street, in the face of protests and complaints, and even of an indictment by the grand jury. Three days later the women presented to the grand jury the results of their investigation, and before the first of the following January Kane was again indicted, and this time tried and convicted. Before the middle of the succeeding February his manure-heap had vanished altogether. Its disappearance, however, was not entirely to the persistent visits of the women's "Vigilance Committee," during one

which the members were attacked by a mob of Kane's fellows. The Vigilance Committee continued its visits just the same after this assault, but with a police escort.

Then came the women's contest with Kane's political "pull." In the early part of 1886 they discovered that Kane, through his brother-in-law, Senator Pullen, was trying to get a bill through the Legislature requiring the Board of Health to establish a permanent dumping-ground between Ninety-Fifth and Ninety-Seventh Streets, First Avenue, and the East River. The women at once sent a protest to the Legislature, and soon received the information that the bill had been withdrawn. But this was only an invention of the enemy. The next thing they heard was that the bill had passed the Senate. They immediately telegraphed to the Chairman of the Assembly Committee on Cities asking him to hear them, and the next morning five women went to Albany. They worked hard for two days, saw Governor Hill, and got his promise to listen to them before approving the bill if it should pass the Assembly. The bill was killed in the Assembly, however, the day after the women quitted Albany. The next year substantially the same bill was again introduced. The women returned to the attack with the same promptness and vigor, and compelled its withdrawal.

From that time to this the women have waged unceasing war against the prevalent methods of disposing of manure and offal in the stables of the city, public and private. Committees have kept constant watch of localities complained of, and have made many complaints to the Board of Health. In 1888 the Board was induced, after much persuasion, to issue an order requiring all manure-pits to be removed from sidewalks and placed within the stables.

IMPROVING SLAUGHTER-HOUSES.

The women next undertook—immediately after their first successful attack on Kane—to compel the removal of slaughter-houses from within the city limits, or a compliance with proper sanitary regulations on the part of the proprietors. Three interviews with the Board of Health were productive of no results. A bill was then presented to the Legislature providing better regulations for slaughter-houses, and with it a memorial setting forth the evils complained of. Public attention and interest were next aroused by a mass meeting held in Steinway Hall, but the bill failed to pass. Then the women changed their tactics. They got a number of prominent butchers to meet them in conference on February 19, 1886. All but one of the butchers admitted the evils complained of, and they actually consented to be organized by the women into two committees, to go around inspecting the slaughter-houses of their fellow-butchers. They reported to the women at a second conference on March 27, and then one of the most prominent slaughter-house firms, Schwarzschild & Sulzberger, experienced a complete change of heart. The firm came forward, acknowledged that their establishment was far from being what it ought to be, and promised that if the women would give them time they would demolish their old structure and build again on the most approved plans. On August 3, 1887, the women inspected, by invitation, the firm's new abattoir. Last year they inspected another new and model abattoir—that of Jacob Fleischauer—the direct result of their efforts.

FIGHTING LEAKY GAS-HOUSES.

The sanitary code says, "No [gas] company shall permit to escape from their works any gas dangerous or prejudicial to health." In spite of that, almost insufferable odors have always emanated freely from most of the gas-houses. The companies said that the gas they allowed to escape was not that which was "dangerous or prejudicial to health." All the same, the neighborhood of their works was rendered uninhabitable, except at the cost of great discomfort and the risk of serious illness. The women

grappled with this nuisance early in 1886. They found out why the gas-works at Forty-First Street and First Avenue had so great a leak; nobody (except the officers) till then had known. The works were in an unfinished condition; the apparatus which condenses odors had not been put in. The women got Inspector Goldschmidt of the Health Department to accompany them on a second visit. The superintendent humbly promised to have the lacking apparatus put in before the autumn, and he did.

In 1887 the gas-houses seemed to have sprung new leaks. The proprietors received many visits from the women, and were obliged to listen to instructions in the process of purifying and deodorizing their establishments. At the same time, the Board of Health was stirred up by the complaints of the Ladies' Association, and induced to send its inspectors to the officers of the companies. All the representations made on the subject by the Association were well backed up by certificates industriously collected from physicians, testifying to the unfavorable effects of the escaped gas upon their patients living near the various works.

The nuisance continued through 1888, and the Association continued its opposition. Obtaining from the Board of Health its chemist, Dr. Goldschmidt, the Association's committee went to the gas-house of the Equitable Company, at Thirty-Ninth Street and the East River, where, on December 31 of that year, a man had been killed and several wounded by an explosion. The chemist did his best to ferret out for them the cause of the explosion, but failed. The women learned here, however, that odors cannot be prevented from escaping from gas-houses to a limited extent, and they at once shaped their policy for the ultimate removal of the whole system beyond the city limits. Pending the accomplishment of this difficult task, they decided that oxide of iron was the best deodorizer, and determined continually to urge its substitution for lime, which most of the companies prefer to use because they think it cheaper.

In 1889 the abuse was still flagrant. The Association went to the Board of Health once more, and boldly demanded that the gas-houses should be banished to the environs or the worst of them closed. The Board said it could do neither, but the Association soon had the Board's president out inspecting the nuisances himself. On July 24, R. M. C. Graham, president of the Equitable Gas Company, and E. J. Enfa, of the same company, were arrested, but escaped trial. On July 25, W. C. Andrews, president of the Standard Gas Company, and G. H. Weeks, of the same company, were arrested, and on October 16 fined twenty-five dollars each. On January 9 of this year, James A. Smith, president, and F. B. Cromwell, superintendent of the Consolidated Gas Company, were arrested, and on February 13 the latter was fined two hundred and fifty dollars, the former being discharged. The latest word of the women on this subject, in their report for 1889, is, "We shall continue our vigilance until there will be no further cause for complaint about this nuisance."

CONQUERING "LITTLE ITALY."

During the summer of 1886 a district known as "Little Italy"—just north of Central Park and between Fifth and Madison Avenues—made it necessary for residents in adjacent fine houses to close their windows in order to escape the noisome atmosphere. Having heard of the prowess of the Association, these people made an appeal to it for help. The women's committee inspected, and found a large colony of Italians crowded in rickety, tumble-down hovels, existing without the least regard for cleanliness or decency. Their yards were a mass of corruption, and street-pickings were drying on sheds. The squalor and dirt of the interior of these places were horrible beyond description. For once the women shrank from their task. They did not dare to invade this slum without a policeman. The policeman to whom they applied thought there ought

to be several policemen, and he got reinforcements. The Board of Health was greatly surprised and equally enlightened when the women told that body how bad this district was. Then "Little Italy" declined, fell, and was effaced.

The women killed another bird this time with the same stone. They observed on their way to "Little Italy" that there were several cow-sheds in Eighty-Ninth Street, near Madison Avenue. They looked into the small, ill-kept, undrained buildings and saw cans of milk standing about, liberally absorbing the prevalent effluvia. The owners of the "dairy" peddled this milk through the city as pure, fresh, and healthful. Brewers' refuse constituted the chief part of the cows' food. The Board of Health forbade the cows to be kept there, and its order was reluctantly and gradually, but finally, obeyed.

IN BEHALF OF CLEAN STREETS.

No earnest reformer can avoid "having a shy" at the condition of the streets of New York. The women put better street-cleaning in the forefront of their endeavors for 1887. The chairman of the committee on this subject investigated the whole matter in foreign and American cities, and proposed a plan of cleaning which Mr. Coleman, then the Commissioner of Street-Cleaning, several leading physicians, and various sanitary experts approved as practical, economical, and efficient. The plan was then submitted in a memorial to Mayor Hewitt, who expressed himself as much pleased with many of the suggestions, and advised Mr. Coleman to act upon them. As long as Mr. Coleman did so there was a marked improvement in the condition of the streets, and especially of the sidewalks, where the ash-barrel and garbage nuisance was reduced to a minimum.

In 1888 the women organized a public meeting at Chickering Hall in furtherance of this reform, Judge C. P. Daly presiding. In 1889 the women importuned Mayor Grant and his street-cleaning commissioners to do something for the city's dirty thoroughfares, but only "received polite attention, with promises for the future, which"—the women pathetically say in their last report—"we are still looking forward to have fulfilled." Following the policy of gathering information and massing scientific authorities when unable to do anything else, the women engaged General Egbert L. Viele to inspect and report on the Merz crematory at Buffalo. There all the garbage and kitchen refuse of the city is, instead of being dumped, at once destroyed by fire or converted into whatever economic elements it may possess. General Viele's report was wholly in favor of the adoption of this method in this city,—garbage, he said, being the most offensive and deadly of all the kinds of refuse which accumulate in large cities.

The forces that the Association has constantly to combat are chiefly the ignorance, incompetency, and apathy of men in official positions. A bare enumeration of the remaining directions in which the women have exerted their reforming zeal must suffice. They have successfully striven to improve the hygiene of the public schools. They anticipated the Board of Health in recognizing the contamination of the Croton water-sheds at Brewsters as the probable cause of diseases prevalent in the city in 1888. They have, with other organizations, persistently pressed the matter of the appointment of women as factory inspectors and as matrons at police-stations. They have brought to the attention of the Board of Health and caused the abolition of nuisances arising from the sewers of the city. They suppressed a bone-boiling establishment which had long been a source of intolerable annoyance to surrounding residents. In fact, wherever they have found an evil in any way detrimental to health they have lent their aid in suppressing it. Among the enlightened part of the community they have met with encouragement and assistance, and they say in their last report, "we thank the Board of Health for their prompt attention to all of our complaints." From eleven members at organization, the Association has grown in five years to a membership of seven hundred.

We propose to go on with our work until we force the men, large salaries we are taxed to pay, to do their work and give a clea or turn over the whole matter to us, who will see that the coming g tions have at least pure air, clean streets, healthful food, and in good time bring about the millennium.

MISS WILLARD. Dear friends, let us come to an attitude of atte Let us be grateful that this meeting has passed off harmoniously. myself, I think the mountains have all turned to mole-hills. With p for the success of those who come into this constantly-increasing taking, and with good-will towards every human being; with pl remembrances of the press, that has been as good to us as if we ha their brothers and sisters, and for the musicians who have sung us way, let us rise and sing one verse of the hymn, "Blest be the t binds," after which Mary T. Lathrap will pronounce the benedicti

After the benediction the National Council of W of the United States adjourned.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS

OF THE

National Council of Women of the United States.

Committee of Arrangements.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

FRANCES E. WILLARD . . . . . *President.*
SUSAN B. ANTHONY . . . . . *Vice-President.*
MARY F. EASTMAN . . . . . *Recording Secretary.*
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL . . . . . *Corresponding Secretary.*
M. LOUISE THOMAS . . . . . *Treasurer.*

EX-OFFICIO VICE-PRESIDENTS AND REGULAR DELEGATES.

The following National organizations having entered the Council regularly, according to the conditions prescribed in Article IV. of its Constitution, their representatives become members of this Committee:

The National Woman Suffrage Association.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON . . . . . *President.*
MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL . . . . . *Delegate.*

Sorosis.

ELLA DIETZ CLYMER . . . . . *President.*
JENNIE C. CROLY . . . . . *Delegate.*

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

FRANCES E. WILLARD . . . . . *President.*
MARY T. LATHRAP . . . . . *Delegate.*

The Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church.

M. LOUISE THOMAS . . . . . *President.*
EMILY S. SHERWOOD . . . . . *Delegate.*

Woman's National Press Association.

M. D. LINCOLN . . . . . *President.*
MARY S. LOCKWOOD . . . . . *Delegate.*

Wimodaughsis.

Rev. ANNA H. SHAW . . . . . *President.*
MARY DESHA . . . . . *Delegate.*

The National Women's Relief Society.

ZINA D. H. YOUNG . . . . . *President.*
JANE S. RICHARDS . . . . . *Delegate.*

The Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association.

ELMINA S. TAYLOR . . . . . *President.*
CAROLINE S. THOMAS . . . . . *Delegate.*

The Illinois Industrial Reform School for Girls.

(National Charter.)

M. R. M. WALLACE . . . . . *President.*
—— —— . . . . . *Delegate.*

The National Free-Will Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

MARY A. DAVIS . . . . . *President.*
E. S. BURLINGAME . . . . . *Delegate.*

The general officers of the Council and the presidents and delegates of the organizations that have entered it, constitute the voting body of the Council at its executive sessions. All members of these organizations may attend the executive sessions of the Council, and may participate in discussions, but may not vote.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

The following organizations are represented in this First Triennial Meeting of the Council by Fraternal Delegates:

The Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition.
BERTHA HONORÉ PALMER.
Mrs. CHARLES M. HENROTIN.
VIRGINIA C. MEREDITH.

The Queen Isabella Association.
Dr. JULIA HOLMES SMITH.

The National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.
Mrs. I. C. MANCHESTER.
Mrs. N. P. BANKS.
ALICE CUTTING.

The Ramabai Association.
JUDITH M. ANDREWS.

The King's Daughters.
MARGARET BOTTOME.
MARY LOWE DICKINSON.
ISABELLA C. DAVIS.

The Moral Educational Society of Boston.
MARIA F. WALLING.

The Moral Educational Society of Chicago.
ELIZABETH R. T. SAWYER.

The Illinois Woman's Alliance.
CORINNE S. BROWN.

The Rhode Island Woman's Council.
Mrs. E. S. BURLINGAME.

The Ohio Women's Council.
——— ——— ———

The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union.
ELLEN R. DIETRICK.
HARRIET A. TOWNSHEND.

The Protective Agency for Women and Children.
CAROLINE M. BROWN.

The Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston.
Dr. HELEN B. O'LEARY.

The Woman's Health Protective Association of New York.
MARGARET RAVENHILL.

The Women's Baptist Missionary Society.
Mrs. J. N. CROUSE.
MARY G. BURDETTE.

The Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society.
Mrs. T. NICKERSON.

The Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Church.
Mrs. M. E. WHITMORE.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.
HANNAH J. BAILEY.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.
Mrs. J. T. GRACEY.
MARY H. B. HITT.

The Women of the National Farmers' Alliance.
MARY E. TRACY.

The Union Woman's Missionary Society.
MRS. H. J. JOHNSON.

The Women's Occidental Board of Foreign Missions.
MRS. E. V. ROBBINS.

The Woman's Board of Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
NETTA M. BERGEN.

The Woman's Missionary Society of the Christian Church.
KATE D. MOORE.

The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.
E. B. GRANNIS.
M. LOUISE THOMAS.

The Woman's Relief Corps.
KATE SHERWOOD.
ALICE M. PETERS.

The World's W. C. T. U.
L. M. N. STEVENS.
FRANCES J. BARNES.

The British Women's Temperance Association.
FLORENCE BALGARNIE.

The Non-Partisan National W. C. T. U.
J. ELLEN FOSTER.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association.
MATILDA B. CARSE.
MARY ALLEN WEST.

The Woman's National Temperance Hospital.
JOSEPHINE R. NICHOLS.

The Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars of the World.
BESSIE STARR KEEFER.

The Illinois Woman's Home Missionary Society.
MRS. O. H. TAINTER.

The Universal Peace Union.
REV. AMANDA DEYO.
FRANCES E. WILLARD.
M. LOUISE THOMAS.

The New York Press Club.
MARY F. SEYMOUR.
HELEN WATTERSON.

The Illinois Press Association.
DR. ALICE B. STOCKHAM.

The New England Woman's Press Association.
ESTELLE M. [illegible] LL.

The American Officers of the International C[illegible]ncil
CLA[illegible]ON, VICE-
RA[illegible] EK-AVI[illegible]

by invitation, sit as Fraternal Delegates in the sessions of the [illegible]nal Co[illegible]

N B.—The Fraternal Delegates above named may enjoy the privilege of being present at [illegible]tive Sessions of the Council, excepting that announced for Saturday, February 21, and may [illegible] in all discussions, but may not vote.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Committee on Railroad Tickets . . . . . LUCY E. ANTHONY,
Committee on the Press . . . . . MARY F. SEYMOUR,
Committee on Sale of Literature in the Lobbies . . . . . EMMA M. GILLETT,
Committee on Finance . . . . . RACHEL FOSTER-AVERY
Committee on Music . . . . . M. ELIZABETH JOHNSON
Committee on Credentials . . . . . MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

Business meetings of the National Council of Women of the United States were held at the Riggs House in the Red Parlors, the afternoons of February 23 and 24, 1891.

At these meetings the fraternal as well as the regular delegates were invited to be present, and no *binding* votes were taken, although many matters of interest were discussed and acted upon informally.

It was voted to ask that women be added to the National Divorce Reform League; that women be made members of the committee which prepares the International Sunday-School Lessons; that women be admitted to the General Conference of the Methodist Church; that Congress grant the request already before it for free school-books for the public schools of the District of Columbia; that the United States Government officials, who have the matter in their control, adopt a standard of equal wages for equal work in the Government departments.

The following resolutions were also passed by an informal vote:

Resolved, That it is the unanimous voice of this Council that all institutions of learning and of professional instruction, including schools of theology, law, and medicine, should, in the interest of humanity, be as freely opened to women as to men; that opportunities for industrial training should be as generally and liberally provided for one as the other, and that the representation of organized womanhood in this Council will steadily demand that in all avocations in which both men and women engage, equal wages shall be paid for equal work; and, finally, that an enlightened society should demand, as the only adequate expression of the high civilization which it is its office to establish and maintain, an identical standard of personal purity and morality for men and women.

Resolved, That the National Council endorses the general features of the plan of organization outlined in our President's address, and that the general officers fully elaborate the plan between this and the next session of the National Council.

Letters were received from John G. Whittier, Dr. Bashford, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, Marion Harland, Nina Morais Cohen, and a telegram of congratulation from Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

By order of the meeting, telegrams were sent to Whittier, Mrs. Stanton, and Dr. Bashford, and votes of thanks were passed to Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Mr. Henry Faxon, and others for generous gifts to the treasury.

The Secretary was instructed to send greetings to Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, and Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, expressing regret for their absence.

At the meeting of Tuesday afternoon the following report was presented:

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES.

In submitting this first triennial report of work done in an important office, it is but fair that some of the disadvantages attending it be stated:

First, as has appeared in the notes of the Secretary, there has been no

full meeting of the general officers since the organization was formed until this present month.

During the first year the Corresponding Secretary sent out to newspapers and to individuals seven thousand five hundred copies of the Constitution and seven thousand five hundred copies of the Address of the General Officers. She sent with the documents a short autograph letter soliciting editorial notice, as well as the mention of the matter furnished. Fifteen newspaper articles were also prepared by her relating to the Council; three of these, with slight modifications, appeared in eight papers each, most of the remaining ones appeared in four papers, and all in at least two. Of the letter to which the general officers had decided to secure the signatures of distinguished women the Secretary made fifty-four copies, distributing them according to the plan indicated in the minutes of the Chicago meeting, already presented to you.

In addition, there were sent out circular letters to the secretaries of National Associations of Women and to influential individuals to the number of one hundred and seventy-four, and autograph letters to the number of one hundred and forty-seven.

During the second year of the Council's life the Corresponding Secretary had the distinguished honor of representing it on two important occasions: first, at the Convention of Clubs called by Sorosis in the March of 1889; second, at the International Congress of Women convened in Paris in the August of the same year. It is not claiming too much for the National Council, and for the International Council, out of which it sprang, to say that the former suggested to the minds of its founders the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and that the latter gave the inspiration out of which the Paris Congress grew. Indeed, frequent acknowledgment of these facts has been made. The second year the Corresponding Secretary was invited to present the claims of the Council before a Woman's Home Missionary Association assembled in Indianapolis, and the same year she presented the arguments for entering the Council before the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ assembled at Buffalo.

During the third year five hundred copies of the Constitution and of the Address of the General Officers were sent out to prominent members of different national organizations of women, and each was accompanied by a personal letter, which reviewed the objections made from time to time. The work of the office has been much heavier during the third than during the two preceding years,—naturally so, since the last year includes the months during which the programme has been arranged.

Nearly two thousand copies of the Constitution and as many of the Address of General Officers have been sent out. The Secretary has written five newspaper articles relating to the Council, and by twenty-five

personal letters to journalists of her acquaintance has inspired several other articles upon the same theme. The Secretary had written four hundred and ninety-two letters before the preparation of the programme had really begun.

In August, 1890, a letter was sent to each of the other general officers and to the presidents of the eleven associations that had then voted to enter the Council, calling their attention to the fact that they were members of the Executive Committee, and as such of the Committee of Arrangements for the first triennial meeting; stating that all preparations would necessarily be made by correspondence, and soliciting suggestions relative to the programme. It should be stated that the Corresponding Secretary did not act without authority, since the President had told her that she must take the initiative in preparing the programme.

The Secretary also wrote to the president of each of the eleven associations that had voted to enter the Council, asking her to have a delegate to the first triennial meeting appointed. In response to this appeal the following women were added to the Committee of Arrangements:

FROM THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Mary Seymour Howell.
FROM THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Mary T. Lathrap.
FROM SOROSIS,
Jennie C. Croly.
FROM THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH,
Emily S. Sherwood.

From the general officers help has been received as follows within the last few months since programme work began: from Miss Willard, fifty-nine letters; from Miss Anthony nine; from Mrs. Thomas six; from Miss Eastman five. Seven of the associations that early voted to apply for admission to the Council reconsidered the action before their admission was consummated. Very lately two organizations have voted to enter the Council. They sent their triennial fees of twenty-five dollars at the same time they sent in their application, and as it seemed clear that they were national in character, the Corresponding Secretary disregarded this informality, and sent to their officers the documents sent to others. They entered too late to bear any part in the arrangement of the programme or take a conspicuous part in it.

As it became evident that many important interests would be unrepresented in the programme of the first triennial meeting if only members of the six national organizations regularly entering the Council were placed upon it, the Corresponding Secretary issued a call asking each national organization of women that was not entitled to send a regular delegate to send a fraternal delegate to this meeting. This public invita-

tion was supplemented by numerous letters to the presidents and secretaries of associations known to be national in both scope and value. The result is that twenty-nine organizations are represented by fraternal delegates.

I wish to say here that a reason besides the one above named for inviting national societies not yet belonging to the Council to send fraternal delegates is found in the hope that in this way the leaders of such organizations will learn that the Council is in reality controlled by the principles laid down in its Constitution, particularly in Article II. thereof:

> This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore no society voting to become auxiliary to this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society or to any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitution.

In no instance save one have local bodies been asked to send delegates, where it was known that a national body existed for the promotion of the same purpose.

The one exception to this is in respect to press associations. The field of journalism is so largely occupied by women that its representation seemed imperative. As the National Press Association had not joined the Council when preparations for the programme began, although repeatedly requested to consider doing so, the Corresponding Secretary wrote to the Press Associations of New England, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, asking them to send fraternal delegates. The Secretary, not knowing in every instance who held official place in these bodies, wrote to those whose names she knew, asking them to bring the matter before the proper authorities. When, in December, the National Press Association applied for regular admission to the Council, it seemed proper to place the representatives of that body on the programme and to let the others have the representation in executive sessions accorded to fraternal delegates. Anxious that all the local press associations invited should in a manner appear on our programme,—before the New England Press Association had acted upon sending delegates,—Lillian Whiting had been asked to prepare a paper and Kate Tannatt Woods to take part in formal discussion.

The experience of the Corresponding Secretary in arranging this programme and in considering the relative claims of regular and fraternal delegates impels her to suggest that in future meetings the proper representatives of duly entered national bodies constitute an Upper House,—a Senate, so to speak,—and fraternal delegates from national bodies not duly entered and from the local councils, which—instead of two, as now (I refer

to the Alliance of Ohio and the Council of Rhode Island)—will d three years hence be forty, constitute a Lower House.

I have not thought it within my function in this report to dev idea and present it in the form of an amendment, but I hope way it will be matured prior to the next triennial meeting.

I may say that in suggesting to the general officers that all delegates and all lay members of duly entered bodies be present a tive sessions, and that the general officers, with presidents a gates of duly entered national associations, constitute the voti at this meeting, I had in mind an approximation to the pla hinted at.

The fulness of the programme, which is bitterly complaine some of our number, and the consequent premature cut off whi an eloquent speaker will suffer, is due entirely to the tardy de associations to come to us.

Had we known a year ago, when the Opera House was enga six (now nine) national organizations would come into the Cou that twenty-six (now thirty-one) organizations would send fratef gates, we should have engaged it for a fortnight, or at least a stead of three or four days; imperfect as the programme is, it has three hundred and eighty-eight separate and distinct letters from responding Secretary, so many of which have been duplicated whole number of letters written since August relative to the pr is five hundred and sixty-nine, while three hundred and fifty slips to it have been sent to the press since that time.

The chief desires of the Corresponding Secretary have bee attain justice, and next to disabuse the minds of women, pa of conservative women, of the idea that the Council exists to temperance and suffrage. Hence these subjects are subordinat programme, because the Council is to represent *ideas* and not *nu*

Respectfully submitted,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Corresponding Sec*

The following officers were elected:

PRESIDENT.—May Wright Sewall, Indiana, President of the Indianapolis Propylæu Contemporary Club of Indianapolis.

VICE-PRESIDENT.—Ella Dietz Clymer, New York, President of Sorosis.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.—Rachel Foster-Avery, Pennsylvania, Recording Sec National American Women Suffrage Association and Corresponding Secretary of the Council of Women.

RECORDING SECRETARY.—Isabella Charles Davis, New York, Corresponding Sec King's Daughters.

TREASURER.—Lillian M. N. Stevens, Maine, Assistant Secretary of the National Wom Temperance Union.

On motion of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Susan B. Anthony and Mary F. Eastman were made perpetual members of the Executive Board of the National Council of Women, in the capacity of honorary Vice-Presidents.

At one of the executive sessions the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, First, That the National Council of Women of the United States send a memorial to the clergymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking, inasmuch as sixty-two per cent. of the membership of that denomination that voted on the subject has already by formal ballot expressed a desire that women be admitted to the General Conference, that the clergy shall, in accordance with the will of the laity, grant the admission of women to that body.

Second, That the Council ask that women be placed on the Sunday-School Lesson Committee, and on all committees appointed in the various churches for the revision of their creeds.

Third, That the Council urge upon the National Divorce Reform League the eminent fitness and consequent obligation of placing women on its Board.

Fourth, That the National Council of Women shall present to the proper authorities a formal request that in all departments of its service the Government shall pay its employees equal wages for equal work, and that both in engaging and promoting its employees it shall consider efficiency and not sex, and thus set a standard for the country.

Fifth, That, inasmuch as the Columbian Exposition of 1893 will afford an exceptional opportunity for convening representatives of all countries, the officers of the National Council shall invite the officers of the International Council of Women, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, President, to hold its first meeting in Chicago in the summer of 1893.

Resolved, That the general officers shall appoint a committee of women whose duty it shall be to report within a year suggestions for a business costume for women which shall meet the demands of health, comfort, and good taste.

Resolved, That the Council approves the movement for preventing the slaughter of birds for the sole purpose of ornamentation, and that it asks American women to imitate the example of the Princess of Wales, who has forbidden the use of the plumage of singing birds on her toilets.

The Council also resolved to furnish a block of stone or marble, suitably inscribed, to place in the monument to be erected over the grave of Mary, the mother of Washington, and voted to commend to all organized bodies of women the objects of the Mary Washington Society.

All these were referred to a formal meeting of the Executive Board for binding action.

The Constitution was amended to read as follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES,

ORGANIZED AT WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 31, 1888.

PREAMBLE.

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers

committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the a
tion of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law.

That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This federation shall be called the National Council of Women of the United

ARTICLE II.

General Policy.

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no over the organizations which constitute it beyond that of suggestion and sym therefore no society voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liabl interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or meth work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitu

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

The officers shall be a President, Vice-President at Large, Corresponding Sec Recording Secretary, and Treasurer. Each president of a society belonging Council shall be *ex-officio* Vice-President of the National Council, and the Presi the National Council shall be *ex-officio* Vice-President of the International Council

The five general officers, with the *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents, shall constitute a ecutive Committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and p for the general interests of the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

Members.

SECTION 1. Any society of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory Executive Committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character or national may become a member of this Council by its own vote and by the payment of one dred dollars into the treasury of the National Council, not later than three month to its triennial meetings.

SECTION 2. The women of any national organization composed of both me women may associate themselves together within said national organization, an connect themselves with the Council by electing a woman to represent them Official Board of the Council, and by the payment of the regular triennial fee i treasury.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

The National Council shall hold triennial meetings. The Committee of Ar ments shall be composed of the Executive Committee and one delegate chosen as i resentative by each society belonging to the Council.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments.

This Constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Cou any triennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member Executive Committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

At a meeting held in the parlors of the Riggs House, February 26, 1891, 11 A.M., there were present the new officers: President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall; Vice-President, Ella Dietz Clymer; Corresponding Secretary, Rachel Foster-Avery; Treasurer, Lillian M. N. Stevens; Recording Secretary, Isabella Charles Davis; also Frances E. Willard, M. Louise Thomas, Rev. Amanda Deyo, Susan B. Anthony, Mary F. Eastman, Jane Richards, Rev. Anna Shaw, Mary S. Lockwood, Mary A. Davis.

With a few earnest, tender words the retiring President, Miss Willard, presented her successor, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, to the meeting. Upon taking the chair Mrs. Sewall spoke with deep appreciation of the work accomplished by the retiring Board, and welcomed the incoming officers to their new duties in the great field with whose needs and opportunities her three years of service as Corresponding Secretary of the Council had made her thoroughly familiar.

Mrs. M. Louise Thomas presented the application for admission to the Council made by the Christian League of Social Purity, with head-quarters in New York City. By unanimous vote the society was admitted.

An invitation was presented from Mrs. President Harrison inviting the National Council of Women and all delegates and members in convention to attend a reception at the White House at five o'clock that afternoon. The Board accepted this invitation for the Council.

M. Louise Thomas presented the application of the Universal Peace Union, stating that while this association was officered by men they had created a woman's committee, of which Rev. Amanda Deyo and Mrs. Thomas herself are members. In accordance with Section 2 of Article IV. of the Constitution, the Peace Union was accepted.

It was decided, on motion of Lillian M. N. Stevens, to hold the annual Business Meeting of the Council in the month of May; and, on motion of Ella Dietz Clymer, the place and date of the meeting were left to the decision of the Central Board.

On motion of Mary F. Eastman, the Corresponding Secretary was authorized to employ a clerk, and five hundred dollars were appropriated for this purpose.

On motion of Miss Willard, a like appropriation was placed at the disposal of the President for such clerical help as should be necessary in carrying forward the work of the Council.

The President suggested that, as the Board had now voted appropriations far in excess of the regular income of the Council, steps should be taken to secure the necessary funds. On motion of Miss Willard, the task of devising some plan for raising this money was placed in the hands of the officers of the Board.

It was resolved that at the assembling of all future Councils a Sergeant-at-Arms should be appointed to maintain order on the platform, and two or more pages to serve the officers and delegates.

Rachel Foster-Avery moved that the permanent report of this first Triennial Meeting of the National Council of Women be issued uniform in size, type, and general style with the report of the International Council of Women of 1888, but bound in a more substantial manner. The motion was adopted, and the entire charge of publishing this report was placed in the hands of the Corresponding Secretary.

It was ordered that this permanent report be entitled "Transactions of the National Council of Women of the United States, 1891."

The question of the best method of publishing the proceedings of the Convention at an early day being brought up for discussion, it was decided to hear the offer of Mary F. Seymour, managing editor of the *Business Woman's Journal*. Miss Seymour was granted the floor to state her offer, and, after further discussion, it was agreed that the Council should pay six hundred dollars for the publication of a condensed report of its proceedings in the April number of the *Business Woman's Journal;* that for this sum ten thousand copies of this Council number should be printed; that five thousand copies of this edition should go to Miss Seymour for the regular subscribers of the *Journal*, and the other five thousand be distributed, and as many as possible sold for the benefit of the Council.

On motion of Miss Eastman, Miss Seymour was directed to confer with Mrs. Avery as to the details of the publication of this brief report.

On motion of Mrs. Davis, the arrangements for distributing and selling the five thousand copies of the magazine belonging to the Council were left to Mrs. Avery.

On motion of Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Avery was appointed a Committee on Finance to have charge of all expenses and returns of this report and authorized to draw upon the treasury for the necessary funds.

The Treasurer was authorized to pay all bills for services rendered under directions of Miss Seymour in connection with the first triennial meeting of the Council, such bills being first approved by Miss Seymour and Mrs. Avery.

It was agreed by consent that the seal and motto which the retiring Board of Officers had been instructed to prepare be used upon all official documents and stationery, and that these ladies be asked to select a color for the stationery.

On motion of Miss Willard, seconded by Miss Eastman, it was resolved,

That the National Council of Women of the United States, in so far as this can be effected by its own action, be hereby constituted a member of the International Council of Women.

Miss Willard moved an adjournment subject to the call of the President.

The motion was adopted, and the meeting adjourned.*

At the afternoon session of Wednesday, February 25, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, Treasurer of the Retiring Board, announced that the National Council of Women of the United States had just secured an act of incorporation in the District of Columbia, which empowered the Council to accept any gifts which might be made to it. She also announced, at another session, that the deed for the gift of land presented by the Glen Echo Chautauqua Association had been executed in due form.

Mrs. Thomas' time during the Council was largely occupied with the details of this incorporation and securing this deed.

On Thursday, February 26, at 5 P.M., the officers of the National Council and a large number of the members of the various associations constituting the Council, in response to the invitation presented at the business session of February 25, proceeded in a body to the White House, and were cordially received by Mrs. President Harrison and the ladies of her household.

At the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union Convention held in St. John, New Brunswick, in the summer of 1891, Mrs. Judge Steadman, of Fredericton, New Brunswick, the new President of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Mrs. Edith J. Archibald, of Marien Bay, Nova Scotia, were made Chairman and Secretary of a committee to call the women of Canada who are engaged in organized work, industrial, educational, philanthropic, or religious, to meet in the spring of 1892 for consultation, with a view to establishing a Woman's Council for Canada.

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* Condensed from the Minutes of the Recording Secretary, Isabella Charles Davis.

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